Thomas. FIVE Williams

SERMONS,

VPON SEVERALL OCCASIONS PREACH'D AT *PAVLS* CROSSE,

his AND Book 1629

AT SAINT *MARIES* IN OXFORD.

Sermon Sermons

BY

Humphry Sydenham, Mr. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

LONDON,

Printed by IOHN HAVILAND, for NICHOLAS FVSSELL, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the Ball in *Pauls* Church-yard.

1627.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE,

HENRY, Lord DANVERS, Baron of DANCY, and Earle of DANBY; The glory of both ages.

MY GOOD LORD,

THat *ſervice* is moſt free of *inſinuation*, which is ſo of *attendance*; whil'ſt others onely *looke* on your *vertues*, with your *fortunes*, and admire them, I both *weigh*, and *contemplate*, and ſo *honour* you more than they by how much a iuſt *ſpeculation* exceeds an outward and *partiall ſurvey* of *men*, and of their *actions*. 'Tis my beleefe in *that* hath arm'd my reſolution in this bold tender of my *labours*, which though I acknowledge vn-

worthy either of your *iudgement*, or acceptance, yet the noble incouragements and faire interpretations you haue giuen *those* formerly deliuer'd in your *eare*, haue taught me a confidence that you will entertaine *these* also offer'd to your *eye*, a *Iudge* more seuere than the other, because more subtill, and (what is more) more deliberate; howeuer, did I not beleeue they would passe the mercy of an *honorable* perusall, I should neuer haue expos'd them to the criticisme & comment of a censorious *Age*, wch vnderualues *most* things, because they are *common*, and *many* things, because they are good. Though *mine* can lay no title to the *latter* in respect of their *frame* and *structure*, they may of the *subiect*, that is *sacred*, and should at least *inuite* acceptance, if not *inforce* it. As they are *(most Noble Lord)* vouchsafe them entertainment; they were publisht at the importunities of some *priuate*, but *reall* friends, to whom they addresse themselues only for *survey*, to you (now) for *patronage*, *they* may *incourage* my proceedings, but *greatnesse* must *protect* them; *your* countenance they beg, which if you daine to afford, you no lesse crowne *them*, than the *Authour*, who in all humility deuotes himselfe

Your Lordships vnfeined honourer

and loyall seruant,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

Thomas William his Book 1798
Jonmon Jenmerk

THE Athenian Babler.

Thos William

A SERMON PREACHED AT St. *MARIES* IN OXFORD, the 9. of *July*, 1626. being ACT-*Sunday*.

BY
Humphry Sydenham, Mr. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

TO THE HOPEFVLL EXPECTATION, BOTH OF HIS NAME AND Countrey,

Sir HVGH PORTMAN, *BARONET*,

This.

MY HONOVR'D SIR:

HOweuer *the publiſhing of other Labours may entitle mee to* Oſtentation, *this cannot but touch vpon* Humilitie, *ſince I haue expoſed that to the* Eye *onely of a* Nation, *which I had formerly to the* Eare *of a* World, *a* Vniuerſitie; *a* World *more glorious than that which inuolues it, by how much it exceeds*

the other, in her Iudgement, *in her* Charitie, *and (what is Noble too) her* incouragement; *of the latter, I had ſome taſte in the deliuerie of* this, *when I was a fitter obiect of her Pitie, than approbation, whether ſhee reflected on* Minde *or* Body, *my* Diſcourſe *or* Mee. *But that was the extenſion of* her *goodneſſe, nothing that my weakneſſe could expect or point at, but the* Mercie *of my* worthier *Friends, amongſt whom, as you were then pleaſed to approue it, ſo now vouchſafe both to peruſe and countenance; In that you ſhall glorifie the endeuours of him, who lookes no higher than the honour of this title,*

Your Friend that

euer ſerues you,

HVM. SYDENHAM.

THE ATHENIAN BABLER.

Text. Acts 17. Verse 18.

Some said; What will this Babler say?

The life of a true Christian, the Apostle cals a continuall warfare; The life of a true Apostle, the Christian cals a continuall Martyrdome; Each act of it hath a bloudy scene, but not a mortall; A few wounds cannot yet terminate his misery, though they beginne his glorie. There are diuers tough breathings required to the Celestiall race; many a bleeding scarre to the good Fight, sweatings,

ſweatings, wreſtlings, tuggings numberleſſe to the crowne of Glorie. *Paul* had long ſince begun the courſe and finiſht it, and can ſhew you a platforme of all the ſufferings; the ſcrowle is ready drawne with his owne hand, you may peruſe it if you pleaſe, 2 *Cor.* 11. where crueltie ſeemes to be methodicall, and torment accurate, perſecution tumbles on perſecution, as a billow on a billow, this on the necke of that; one ſcales not the truth of his Apoſtleſhip, many ſhall. Hee was but now at *Liſtra*, where hee cured a Cripple, and hee is ſtoned for it; by and by at *Philippi* hee caſts out a Deuill, and hee is ſcourged. Here's not all; ſufferings of the body are not load enough for an Apoſtle; if he loue his Lord and Maſter (as he ought) hee muſt haue ſome of reputation too; hee that hath beene ſo long acquainted with the laſh of the hand, muſt now feele that of the tongue too: Buffettings are not ſufficient for Diſciples, they muſt haue reuilings alſo for the name of *Ieſus*. *Paul* therefore ſhall now to *Athens* (the eye of the learned world and ſeat of the Philoſopher) where he meets with language as peruerſe as the Religion, and amongſt many falſe ones, findes no entertainment for the true; the mention of a *Ieſus* crucified, ſtands not with the faith of an *Athenian*, nor a ſtorie of the Reſurrection with his Philoſophy. The Altar there conſecrated to the *vnknowne*, will not ſo ſoone ſmoke to the *iealous God*. The glorious Statues of *Mars* and *Iupiter*, cannot yet bee tranſlated to the forme of a *Nazarite*. 'Tis not a bare relation can plant *Chriſt* at *Athens*, it muſt be reaſon, the ſinew and ſtrength of ſome powerfull argument, and to this purpoſe *Paul* was but now in hot diſputation with the *Iewes* there in the *Synagogue*. By this time hee hath diſpatcht; for loe yonder where he ſtands in earneſt diſcourſe with the people in the *Market*? The tumult is inlarged, and the *Athenian* already tickled with the expectation of ſome noueltie; Anon, the Gowne beſets him, and

Verſ. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Act. 14. v. 10, 19.

Act. 16. 18, 23.

Act. 17. 23.

Act. 17. 7.

and all the rigid Sects of the Philosophers; as the throng increases, so doth the Cry; on that side, Censure, —*Some said he was a setter forth of strange Gods*; on this side, Preiudice,- *And some said, what will this Babler say?*

In the diuision of which tumult wilt please you to obserue mine.

1. *The persons Preiudicate*, maskt here vnder a doubtfull Pronoune, *Quidam*—*some*,— Τίνες ἔλεγον,-*some said*-.

2. *The person preiudic'd*, cloathed in a terme of obloquy and dishonour, σπερμολόγος —*Babler*,—*What will this Babler say?* Thus the Field stands pitcht, where we may view the parts, as the persons, In a double squadron, no more. *Paul* and his Spirit in one part of the *Battalio*; *Epicures*, *Stoickes*, with their Philosophy, in the other, the rest are but lookers on, no sharers in the conflict. Here's all; All that's naturall from the words, and not wrested; For (mine owne part) I'le not pull Scripture into peeces, digging for particulars which are not offered, for that were to torment a Text, not diuide it. I affect nothing that is forc'd, loue Fluentnesse, and (what the maiestie of this place may (perchance) looke sowre on) plainnesse. Howeuer, at this time, I haue a little endeuoured that way, that those of *Corinth* and *Ephesus* may as well heare *Paul*, as these of *Athens*. I come not now to play with the quaint eare, but to rub it, nor to cherish the dancing expectation of those *Athenians* which cry —*Newes*, *Newes*,—but to foile it. Acts 17.8,21. And this is well enough for a *Babler*, that's the doome at *Athens*, mine, now, and iustly too. I may not expect a greater mercy of the tongue thence, then an Apostle had, especially when a *Stoicke* raignes in it. Whose Religion (for the most part) is but snarling, and a maine peece of his learning, Censure; But let's heare first what he can say of the *Babler*, next, what the *Babler* will say. I begin with the persons preiudicate, Τίνες ἔλεγον, *Some said*.

Some?

Pars I.

Some? what some? The front of this Verse presents them both in their quality, and number; *Philosophers.* What, of all Sects? No—* *Certaine Philosophers*—of old, σοφοὶ, since by the modesty of *Pythagoras* a little degraded of that height, as if it trenched too neere vpon ambition, to entitle themselues immediatly vnto Wisdome, but to the loue of it, and therefore now, φιλόσοφοι, yet still of venerable esteeme among the *Athenians*. *Aretius* calls them their *Diuines*; *Brentius* their *Patriarchs*, and their *Prophets*; Each word they spake was as canonicall as Text, and they themselues both Masters of it, & of the people. Of these there were diuers Sects, two (here) specified, *Epicures*, *Stoickes*; these were extremes in the rules both of their life and tenent; the *Epicure* in the defect, the *Stoicke* in the excesse. Betweene them both were the *Peripateticks*, and the *Academicks*, better mixt and qualified in their opinion, stooping neither to the loosenesse of the one, nor the austeritie of the other; but of these no mention in the Text. The *Areopagites* (inrimated in the foot of this Chapter) were not *Philosophers*, but the *Athenian* Iudges, some say; others, their *Consuls*, or their *Senatours*: In the street of *Mars* (where the *Athenians* brought *Paul*, and enquired of his Doctrine) was their Tribunall, where they sate vpon their more weighty affaires, and, of old, arraigned *Socrates*, and condemned him of impiety. But I haue no quarrell to these, since I finde they had none to the Apostle; The *Stoicke* and the *Epicure* are the sole incendiaries and ring-leaders of the tumult, whom the very Text points out in this, —τινες ἕλεγον—*some said*—men as opposite in their opinion, as to the truth; one seated his chiefe happinesse in the pleasure of the Body, the other in the vertues of the Minde. The *Epicure* attributed too much to voluptuousnesse, the *Stoicke* to the want of it; that would haue a vacuity of griefe both in minde, and sense; this taught his—ἀπαθειαν—a nullity of

* Verse 15.

In cap. 17. Act.

Aretius in cap. 17. Act.

Acts 17. 22.

Gen. not. ibid.

Aretius in cap. 17. Act.

of all affections in either. These are the broad and common Differences in their opinion, and such as here tread opposite to the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*; but there are others more cryticall and nice, which not finding touch'd by the pen of the Holy Ghost, I presum'd to enquire after in their owne Schooles, in *Zeno's Stoä* for one, and in *Epicurus* Garden for the other. A trauell somewhat vnnecessarie for *Athens* amongst *Philosophers*, where they are daily canuast. Yet (perchance) there may bee —*some Nobles here of* Berea, *and chiefe women of* Thessalonica, *which haue receiued* Paul *with all willingnesse*— which know them not. I shall bee onely your Remembrancer, their Informer.

Vers. 17.
Vers. 4.

Epicures (for I begin with them, they haue the precedence in the Text) challenge both name and pedegree, from *Epicurus* the Founder and Father of that Sect. Hee was borne at *Athens*, seuen yeeres after the death of *Plato*, where he liued, taught, died. He wrote 300. Bookes in his owne Art, without reference to a second pen, and (what is strange) obseruation; no sentence, no precept of Philosopher, but his owne; those of *Democritus*, *de Atomis*, and of *Aristippus*, *de Voluptate*, *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* cals his. His deportment and way of carriage, in matters of Moralitie, was verie remarkable. *In Parentes pietas, in Fratres beneficentia, in Seruos mansuetudo.* ('Tis the triple commendation *Laertius* giues him,) And in lieu of these and the like vertues, his Countrey afterwards erected many brazen Statues, and *Athenaeus* wrote certaine Epitaphs to the perpetuall embalming both of his name and honour. Hee was one it seemes more irregular in his tenent, than his life, abstemious he was, moderate, in his repast, in his desires,—*Oleribus vtens exiguis*, *Hierome* sayes, and he confesses himselfe in his Epistles, that Temperance was his feast, the lowest staire of it, Parcimonie: *Aqua contentus & polentâ.* His place of teaching was in Gardens, and the

Lib. 2. Hist.
Lib. de Epicur.
A Foro sic in Locum.
Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. Genalium Dierum, cap. 11.

manner not onely to the capacitie, but the diſpoſition of his hearer.

1. The whole Fabricke of his precepts hee builds vpon this double ground; The one on Mans part, that hee is compoſed of a double ſubſtance, a Body and a Soule, and both theſe mortall; yea, the Soule vaniſht ſooner than the Body; For when the Soule is breathed out, the Body yet remaines the ſame, and the proportion of parts perfect. *Anima mox vt exierit veluti fumus vento diuerberata, diſſoluitur*; But the Soule is no ſooner ſeparate than blowne away, like ſmoake ſcattered by the wind. So Saint *Auguſtine* relates the opinion in his Tract, *De Epic. & Stoic. 5. cap.* On this foundation was raiſed their great opinion, that Mans chiefeſt happineſſes conſiſted in the pleaſure of the Body. *The reſt of that was the end of all Bleſſedneſſe; For to this purpoſe doe wee all things, that we may neither be diſturbed nor grieued,* ('tis *Epicurus* own Doctrine.) Yet euery pleaſure is not ſo magnified, as that of the Pallate by ſuperfluitie, of the Body by effeminateneſſe; *But, when after a long toleration of ſorrow a greater pleaſure enſues, when the Body is no more beaten with griefe, the Minde vntoſt and free from all waues of perturbation, there was the true Happineſſe. Hee was bleſſed that enioyed thoſe delights in preſent; future, they neither beleeued nor cared for, Death was the ſlaughterman of all:* And therefore *Seneca* cals the Schoole of the *Epicures*; *Delicatam, & vmbraticam, apud quos virtus voluptatis miniſtra.* For if the Soule alſo periſheth with the Body, the dirge and *requiem* that they ſing, is *Ede, Bibe, Lude*, Eat and drinke, for to morrow we ſhall die; and after death what pleaſure? And therefore wee finde their vſuall *Epicadium*, ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, —*Death is nothing to vs, for what is diſſolued wants ſenſe, and what wants ſenſe is nothing to vs. For if Man bee compoſed of Body and Soule, and Death bee the diſſolution of both, the burthen of their ſong runnes inſtantly*; *Cùm ſumus, non eſt mors,*

In Epiſt. ad Herodotum.

Senec. lib. 4. de Benefic.

Lib. 3. Pyrron. Hypotyp. cap. 14.

mors, cùm autem mors est, non sumus; so *Sextus Empiricus*: Moreouer, they would haue the soule a kinde of body, otherwise (say they) *it would neither doe nor suffer. Incorporeum*, with them, is all one with *Vacuum*; and therefore, *the Soule* (they sayd) *was composed of Atomes, and when the Atomes in a man were dissolued, then the Soule died*, as *Epicurus* himselfe in his Epistle to *Herodotus*.

The other foundation is on Gods part; for the *Epicure* grants there is a God, but denies his Prouidence; howbeit, vnder a glorious colour —*Deum ad Cœli cardines obambulare, & nulla tangi mortalium curâ*, as if forsooth, it would not stand with the maiestie of the world, to regard what is done in those sublunarie parts, and so make God (as *Tertullian* complaines) *Otiosum, & inexercitum neminem in humanis rebus*, —haply conceiting it might detract somewhat from his delight and pleasure, to molest himselfe with the care of this nether world. Aboue all things this moued him most, *Homines religiosos*, — that the most religious men were most of all afflicted, whereas those which did either wholly neglect the Gods, or serue them but at their pleasure, came into no misfortune, or at least no misfortune like other men. And in fine, *Ipsa etiam Templa fulminibus conflagrari*, — he obserued that the Temples also raised for the honour of the Gods, and dedicated to their seruice, were oftentimes burnt with fire from Heauen. Out of which premisses, the silly Heathen gathers this desperate Conclusion: *Surely the Almightie walketh in the height of Heauen, and iudgeth not; Tush, God careth not for those things.*

2.

Gualt. in locum.

In Apol. aduers. gentes, cap. 24.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. Genalium Dierum, cap. 11.

Stoickes (so deriued from *Stoa* where *Zeno* taught, the Master of that Sect) were of a more sowre and contracted brow; their seueritie drew their name into a prouerbe, *Stoicum supercilium, grauitas Stoica*: their Precepts were for the most part but a Systeame of harsh and austere

auſtere Paradoxes. *A wiſe man is then bleſt, when vnder the greateſt torments.* Metellus *liues not more happily than* Regulus. *A wiſe man is free from all paſſions. He is a foole that doth commiſerate his friend in diſtreſſe: Mercie and Pitie are diſeaſes of the minde, and one with the ſpecies and perturbations of griefe, mentall ſickneſſes diſturbe no wiſe mans health. He can neither erre, nor be ignorant, nor deceiue, nor lie. He is alone to be reputed rich, a Maſter of his owne libertie, a King, without ſinne, equall to God himſelfe; Hoc eſt ſummum bonum, quod ſi occupas, incipis Deorum ſocius eſſe, non ſupplex,* it is *Seneca's* Stoyciſme, in his 31. Epiſtle. In all vertues they held a paritie, and ſo in ſinnes too, *Hee no more faultie that kils a man, than hee that cuts off a dogs necke.* Touching God and the nature of him, they ſtrangely varied. Some thought him —*an immortall liuing Creature, a perfect rationall and a bleſſed*; others granted him a *Being and Prouidence*; but this Prouidence they vaſſall to their *Stoycall Fate*, and make Gods gouernment not free and voluntarie, but neceſſitated and compelled. *Vt Deus ipſe fati neceſſitate conſtrictus cum Cœli machina violenter ferretur,* (ſo *Caluin.*) Touching Man, they taught that his chiefeſt happineſſe was placed in the mindes vertue, which opinion though it ſhew faire and glorious, tends but to this —*Quemuis mortalem fœlicitatis ſuæ artificem eſſe poſſe,* (ſayes *Bullinger.*) Euerie man ſhould bee the contriuer and ſquarer out of his owne happineſſe; and thus weake man is hereby blowne vp with a proud confidence, that being vertuous he ſhould be adorned with the ſpoiles of God, —*Eſt aliquid quo ſapiens antecedat Deum, ille naturæ beneficio, non ſuo ſapiens eſt.* I forbeare to tranſlate the proud blaſphemie, it is *Seneca's* in his 53. Epiſtle. But me thinkes this vaunting *Stoicke* might eaſily haue beene taken downe by his owne Principles, for aske but any of them, how long their ſoule ſhall enioy that ſuppoſed happineſſe: *Tully* makes anſwer for them,

Tull. 5. de Finibus & 1. Academ.

Lypſius in manuduct. ad Stoicam Philoſoph.

Tull. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Tull. lib. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Diogen. Laert. in vita Zeno. lib. 7.

In 17. cap. Act.

In locum.

them, —*Diù manſuros aiunt animos, ſemper negant*—, Like long-liued Crowes, they laſt out ſome yeeres after the bodies Death; but by their owne confeſſions grow old continually, and die at laſt; and then wherein may the *Stoicke* bragge more than the *Epicure?* In this, little. They both held, *the ſoule was of it ſelfe a body*; the *Stoicke* did extend it a little further, and then obnoxious to corruption too. And yet *Antipater*, and *Poſſidonius* (chiefe members of that Sect) ſaid, the Soule was a hot ſpirit, for this made vs to moue and breath; And all ſoules ſhould endure till that heat were extinguiſht, *Cleanthes* ſaid, but *Chryſippus*, onely wiſe-mens. Thus ſome are as giddy in their opinions, as ſottiſh; others, as deteſtable, as giddy; one dotes on the world, and would haue it to be —*Animal rationale*, —The vniuerſe muſt haue a Soule, that immortall, and the parts thereof, *Animantium animæ*. A ſecond falls in loue with Vertues, and would haue them to be *glorious liuing Creatures*; but this foole *Seneca* laſhes with an —*O triſtes ineptias, ridiculæ ſunt*, in his 113. Epiſtle. A third adores the Starres, and would haue them *nouriſht, the Sunne from the Sea, the Moone from the leſſer waters*. A fourth growes ſalacious, and hot, and would haue a *communitie of Wiues to Wiſe-men, of Strumpets to the reſidue*. A fifth, yet more deuilliſh, will haue a *liberty of Bed from the Father to the Daughter, from the Mother to the Sonne, from the Brother to the Siſter, and ſo backe againe*: and to make all compleatly heatheniſh, (and I tremble to breath it in a Pulpit) *A Sonne may participate of the body of his liue Mother, and eat the fleſh of his dead Father*, ἀιχρεργειν, *deteſtabile*; Cries *Sextus Empericus*, —*Zeno approbat quod apud nos Sodomitæ*,—in his 3. booke *Pyrroniarum Hypotypωſiωv*, Cap. 24.

5. *De Finibus.*

Laert. lib. de Epicur.

Sextus Emper. Pyrron. Hypol. cap. 24. lib. 3.

Thus with as much breuity as I could, I haue traced out the principall poſitions of theſe diuided Sects. Worthy ones no doubt, to bandy againſt the ſacred

Fundamentalls of an Apoſtle, yet if it now pleaſe you to follow them, —*Eſtoâ, & hortis, in Synagogam*, —From their Gallery and Garden where they taught, into their Synagogue, you ſhall ouertake them there all flocked together about Saint *Paul*, and (as the Text deſcribes it) *encountring* him. Here is iuſt matter for obſeruation, if not for wonder. *Epicures*, *Stoickes*, men which iarre as much as any that beare the name of *Philoſophers* can doe amongſt themſelues, are ready (neuertheleſſe) to meet in a tumult, and ioyne forces againſt an Apoſtle, ſtrange, did wee not know that the wiſedome of this world were enmity againſt God, and that —*Chriſt vnto the Iewes a ſtumbling blocke, vnto the Grecians fooliſhneſſe*. What the ground was which ſhould occaſion this aſſault, Saint *Auguſtine* coniectures to be (and it is not repugnant to the drift of the Text) *Quid faciat beatam vitam?* What might make a man moſt happie? The *Epicure* hee anſwers; *Voluptas corporis*, the pleaſure, but with this limitation, the honeſt pleaſure of the body. The *Stoicke* he ſaith, —*Virtus*, —The vertue of the minde; the Apoſtle replies, —*Donum Dei*, it is the gift of GOD: *Lyra* addes, that from thence the ſequele led them to the Reſurrection. For the *Epicures* ioy could laſt no longer than his ſubiect; his bliſſe muſt die with his body; and the *Stoickes* foreſaw not the Soules immortality, and therefore could not promiſe euerlaſting happineſſe. But the Apoſtle he preacheth a Reſurrection of body and ſoule, and by that Eternall life, and ſo by conſequence euerlaſting Happineſſe through Chriſt, both of Soule and Body. This ſeemes to haue beene the ſubiect of their Diſpute, but their Arguments I can by no meanes collect; Belike they were ſo ſilly, that they were not thought worthy to be enrolled amongſt thoſe more noble Acts of the Apoſtles, only their impudence, that is ſo notorious that it may not be omitted. For, on what ſide ſoeuer the victory goes, theirs

Acts 17.17.

1 Cor.1.23.

Caluin.in locum.

Aug.Tract.de Epicur. & Stoicis,cap.7.
Lyra in cap.17. Act.

Acts 17.18.

theirs is the triumph ; the cry runnes with the *Athenian*, the Philoſopher hath non-pluſt the Diuine, and the Apoſtle *bables*. Thus the wicked haue bent their bowe, and ſhot their arrowes, euen bitter words, bitter words aginſt the Church, and her true members in all Ages. The naturall man led on by the dull light of reaſon, making Philoſophie his Starre, endeuours with thoſe weake twinklings, thoſe leſſer influences to obſcure the glorie of the greater light, that of Diuine truth ; ſo it was in the firſt dawne and riſing of the Church. *Iannes* and *Iambres*, the great Magitians of *Ægypt*, withſtood *Moſes* working miracles before *Pharaoh*. But all the ſpels of Magicke with their blacke power, neuer wrought ſo miſchieuouſly againſt the Church as the ſubtill inchantments of the Philoſopher. Chriſtianity neuer felt ſuch wounds, as from the Schoole of the *Athenian*. The *Seminary* of the wrangling Artiſt ; the *Epicure*, *Stoicke*, *Platoniſt*, they were Philoſophers, that's enough ; they not onely ſtrugled to oppoſe Fundamentalls of Faith, but to deſtroy them. Euery age of the Church, and almoſt euery place of it will giue vs a world of inſtances ; one *Alexandria* affords an *Ætius* and a *Demophylus* againſt Chriſt ; one *Conſtantinople* a *Macedonius*, and an *Eurox* againſt the Holy Ghoſt ; one *Epheſus* an *Anthemius*, and a *Theodore* againſt the Virgin *Marie* ; one *Athens* (here) an *Epicure*, and a *Stoicke* againſt *Paul* ; Nay, the ſophiſtry of one peruerſe but nimble Diſputant, hath coſt more liues than are now breathing in the Chriſtian world, and opened ſuch a ſluce and Arch thorow the body of the Eaſterne Church, which was not ſtopt againe almoſt in the current of three hundred yeeres, when downe it bloud ran ſwiftly from the butcheries of *Valens* and *Conſtantius*, and the limbes, the thouſand limbes of ſlaughtered Infants ſwam with the violence of the Torrent, euen then when Chriſtianity groaned vnder the mercileſſe inuentions and various tortures

tortures of the *Arrian* Massacre and persecution. Philosophers were the first *Patriarchs* of that Heresie, and hence I suppose was that Edict of *Constantine*, that as a badge and character of their profession, they should be no more called *Arrians*, but *Porphirians*, the venomous brood of their cursed Master, and one that then blew the coale to most combustions of the Primitiue Church; For, at *the Councell of Nice* (the place, and meanes ordained by that good Emperour for the suppression of *Arrius*, *Anno Christi* 325.) some, if not of his name, yet of his profession, (for they were Philosophers) trouped thither in droues and multitudes, not onely to oppose the Bishops, but to vpbraid them. *Odio inflammati quod superstitiosa Gentilium religio antiquari caperat*,-as *Ruffinus lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. And before that (in the Apostles time) about the yeere of Christ 75. they went about from Citie to Citie with this pretext onely to reforme publique misdemenours, and to that purpose had certaine Sermons to the people, for rectifying their Conuersation in morall carriages, and so seemed industrious to reduce them to a better forme, but the maine proiect was to confront the Apostles doctrine, and establish them more immouably in the former superstition of the *Gentiles*: thus did *Dyon*, *Apollonius*, *Euphrates*, *Demetrius*, *Musonius*, *Epictetus*, *Lucian*, and others, as *Baronius* in his first Tome 777. *pag.* nay, the very dregs of them (saith the Antiquary) the *Cynicke*, and the *Epicure*, so violent (here) against *Paul*. *Hos præ cæteris infestos sensit Christiana religio.*—These were the heathen *Ianissaries*, the chiefe Souldiers and speare-men against the Christian Faith, when at *Rome* the sides of that Religion were strucke thorow with their blasphemous declamations, *Et petulantium eorum calumnijs & dicterijs misere proscindebatur*, the same *Baronius* in his second Tome, *pag.* 154. Thus all violent oppositions of Christian truth had their first conception in the wombe of *Philosophy*;

Socrat. lib. 1. *ca.* 5.

Sozom. lib. 1. *cap.* 17.

Ad annum 75.

Baron. ad annum 164.

Philoſophy; The Fathers which traffick't with the tumults of thoſe times, ſaid in effect as much,—*Omnes hæreſes ſubornauit Philoſophia*, —*Marcion* came out of the Schoole of our *Stoicke*; *Celſus*, of the *Epicure*; *Valentinus*, of that of *Plato*; all hereſies were the flouriſhings and trimmings of humane Learning. *Inde Æones, & forma neſcio quæ, & Trinitas hominis apud Valentinum.* Thence thoſe *Æones* (I know not what *Ideas*,) and that triple man in *Valentinus*, he was a *Platoniſt*. Thence *Marcions* quiet God, it came from the *Stoickes*; And the Soule ſhould be made ſubiect to Corruption,—is an obſeruation of the *Epicures*, and the deniall of the Reſurrection, the ioynt opinion of their whole Schooles. And when their —*Materia prima* is matcht with God, it is *Zeno's* Diſcipline, and when God is ſaid to be a fiery Subſtance, *Heraclitus* hath a finger in it, thus *Tertullian*. Saint *Hierom* keepes on the Catalogue —*inde Eunomius præfert*. Thence *Eunomius* drew his poyſon againſt the Eternity of the Sonne of God, For, *whatſoeuer is begotten and borne, before it was begotten, was not.* Thence *Nouatus* blockes vp all hope of pardon for offences on Gods part, that hee might take away repentance and all ſuit for it, on ours. Thence *Manichæus* double God, and *Sabellius* ſingle perſon; and to be ſhort, —*De illis fontibus vniuerſa dogmata argumentationum ſuarum riuulos trahunt*: —*Menandrians*, *Saturnians*, *Baſilidians*, *Ammonians*, *Proclians*, *Iulians*, and the reſidue of that curſed Rabble, had from thence their conception, birth, nouriſhment, continuance. Hereupon the great Doctour of the *Gentiles*, writing purpoſely of their Wiſdome, alleageth no other reaſon why they were not wiſe vnto Saluation, but the *wiſdome of this world. The world through wiſdome knew not God*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 20. And therefore he preſcribes the *Coloſſians* a —*Cauete nè vos ſeducat*,—Take heed leſt any man ſpoile you through Philoſophie and vaine deceit. *Fuerat Athenis*, Saint *Paul*

Lib. de Præſcript. aduerſ. Hæreſ.

Comment. in Nahum, ad cap. 3.

Iohan. Baptiſt. Chriſpus de Ethnic. Philoſ. Caute Legend. Quin. 1.

Coloſſ. 2. 4.

had beene at *Athens* (saith *Tertullian*,) and knew by his often encounter there, how desperately secular and prophane Knowledge wounded Diuine truth. Insomuch, that the Father is of opinion, *Vnâ hac sententiâ omnes hæreses damnari*, in his 5. Booke against *Marcion*, 19. Chapter.

De Præscript. aduersʃ. Hæresʃ.

But whilest wee goe about to vindicate our Apostle, let vs not be too iniurious to the *Philosopher*; The *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* had their drosse and rubbish, yet they had their Siluer too, which had past the fornace, tried and purified enough for the practice of a Christian. Though they had Huskes and Acornes for their Swine, yet they had Bread for Men. It was not their Philosophie was so pestilent, but the vse it; our Apostle reprehends not the true, but the vaine; no doubt there is that which is Sanctified, as well as the Adulterate, otherwise the Fathers would neuer haue stiled Diuinity, *Philosophy*; That is a glorious ray sent downe from Heauen by the Father of Light; This but strange Fire some *Prometheus* stole thence, and infused into a peece of babling clay which circumuents weake men, and vnder a shadow and pretext of Wisdome, oftentimes carries away probabilitie for truth. And it was this latter that inflamed the youth of *Augustine* to the studie of it; but hee was soone cool'd when hee descried the other; then —*Nomen Christi non erat ibi*, —in the third of his *Confessions*. And the *words* — Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, *were not now to be read in the great Peripatetick*. —Insomuch, that that former asseueration of his — *Philosophos tantùm extuli, quantùm impios non oportuit*, —hee recants in the first of his Retractations; and against the *Academickes* he is at once zealous and peremptory. —*Huius mundi Philosophiam sacra nostra meritissimè detestantur*, —Our sacred Discipline vtterly detests Philosophie; But what? *The Philosophie of this world*, which I know not whether it hath more conuinced or begotten errour, or improued

Cap 4.

Cap. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 19.

vs in our knowledge, or ſtaggered vs. And therefore *Iuſtin Martyr*, after his Conuerſion from the Philoſopher to the Chriſtian, complained hee was deluded by reading *Plato*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports of *Carpocrates*, and *Epiphanes*, who reading in *Platoes Common-wealth*, that —*Wiues ought to be common*, taught inſtantly their owne to follow that vertuous principle, it is *Baronius* Quotat. in his 2. Tome, *pag.* 76. Thus the Gold which *Salomon* tranſports from *Ophyr*, hammered and poliſhed as it ought, beautifies the Temple; but if it fall into the hands of the *Babylonians* they worke it to the ruine of the Citie of God.

In Col. cum Tryphone Iudæo.

Ad annum 120.

And by this time *Paul* hath paſt his encounter, & begins now to ſuſpect the cenſure of the Philoſopher. He that enters the *Synagogue* at *Athens*, is to expect nimble Eares, and ſharpe Tongues. If he Diſpute, hee muſt hazard an abſurdity; if he Preach, hee *bables*. What hee doth on the one ſide leſſe affectedly, and plaine, the *Epicure* wreſts inſtantly to the cenſure of a *Bull*, what more tierſly, and polite; on the other, the *Stoicke* to a *ſtrong Line*. Thus betweene the acuteneſſe of the one, and the ſupercilíouſneſſe of the other, *Paul* ſhall not ſcape his laſh; but the comfort is, except that the Parallel (here) exceeds the patterne, our Criticks are not numberleſſe; onely, Τινες—*ſome ſaid*; and theſe ſome (too) very probably, but *Philoſophers*; that is, —*Gloriæ animalia & popularis auræ atq; rumoris venalia mancipia*, as *Hierom* characters them. Creatures that will be bought and ſold for popular applauſe; and when thoſe factions are thus met, what is the iſſue? All they leaue behind is but a meere *ſaying*, —Τινες ἔλεγον, —*ſome ſaid*, —and not ſaid onely of late, but done too, done violently againſt *Paul*, not only at *Athens*, in the *Synagogue*, but in the hill of *Mars* too, the place of their conſultation, where if the rude *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* cannot cry him downe enough at *Corinth*, *Iewes* ſhall riſe againſt him, and bring

Acts 17.22.

had beene at *Athens* (saith *Tertullian*,) and knew by his often encounter there, how desperately secular and prophane Knowledge wounded Diuine truth. Insomuch, that the Father is of opinion, *Vnâ hac sententiâ omnes hæreses damnari*, in his 5. Booke against *Marcion*, 19. Chapter.

De Præscript. aduersʃ. Hæresʃ.

But whilest wee goe about to vindicate our Apostle, let vs not be too iniurious to the *Philosopher*; The *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* had their drosse and rubbish, yet they had their Siluer too, which had past the fornace, tried and purified enough for the practice of a Christian. Though they had Huskes and Acornes for their Swine, yet they had Bread for Men. It was not their Philosophie was so pestilent, but the vse it; our Apostle reprehends not the true, but the vaine; no doubt there is that which is Sanctified, as well as the Adulterate, otherwise the Fathers would neuer haue stiled Diuinity, *Philosophy*; That is a glorious ray sent downe from Heauen by the Father of Light; This but strange Fire some *Prometheus* stole thence, and infused into a peece of babling clay which circumuents weake men, and vnder a shadow and pretext of Wisdome, oftentimes carries away probabilitie for truth. And it was this latter that inflamed the youth of *Augustine* to the studie of it; but hee was soone cool'd when hee descried the other; then —*Nomen Christi non erat ibi*,—in the third of his *Confessions*. And the *words* — Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, *were not now to be read in the great Peripatetick*.—Insomuch, that that former asseueration of his — *Philosophos tantùm extuli, quantùm impios non oportuit*,—hee recants in the first of his Retractations; and against the *Academickes* he is at once zealous and peremptory. —*Huius mundi Philosophiam sacra nostra meritissimè detestantur*,—Our sacred Discipline vtterly detests Philosophie; But what? *The Philosophie of this world*, which I know not whether it hath more conuinced or begotten errour, or improued

Cap 4.

Cap. 1.

Lib. 3. cap. 19.

vs in our knowledge, or ſtaggered vs. And therefore *Iuſtin Martyr*, after his Conuerſion from the Philoſopher to the Chriſtian, complained hee was deluded by reading *Plato*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports of *Carpocrates*, and *Epiphanes*, who reading in *Platoes Commen-wealth*, that —*Wiues ought to be common*, taught inſtantly their owne to follow that vertuous principle, it is *Baronius* Quotat. in his 2. Tome, *pag.* 76. Thus the Gold which *Salomon* tranſports from *Ophyr*, hammered and poliſhed as it ought, beautifies the Temple; but if it fall into the hands of the *Babylonians* they worke it to the ruine of the Citie of God.

In Col. cum Tryphe. Iudæo.

Ad annum 120.

And by this time *Paul* hath paſt his encounter, & begins now to ſuſpect the cenſure of the Philoſopher. He that enters the *Synagogue* at *Athens*, is to expect nimble Eares, and ſharpe Tongues. If he Diſpute, hee muſt hazard an abſurdity; if he Preach, hee *bables*. What hee doth on the one ſide leſſe affectedly, and plaine, the *Epicure* wreſts inſtantly to the cenſure of a *Bull*, what more tierſly, and polite; on the other, the *Stoicke* to a *ſtrong Line*. Thus betweene the acutenelſe of the one, and the ſuperciliouſnelſe of the other, *Paul* ſhall not ſcape his laſh; but the comfort is, except that the Parallel (here) exceeds the patterne, our Criticks are not numberleſſe; onely, Τινες —*ſome ſaid*; and theſe ſome (too) very probably, but *Philoſophers*; that is, —*Gloriæ animalia & popularis auræ atq; rumoris venalia mancipia*, as *Hierom* characters them. Creatures that will be bought and ſold for popular applauſe; and when thoſe factions are thus met, what is the iſſue? All they leaue behind is but a meere *ſaying*, —Τινες ἔλεγον, —*ſome ſaid*, —and not ſaid onely of late, but done too, done violently againſt *Paul*, not only at *Athens*, in the *Synagogue*, but in the hill of *Mars* too, the place of their conſultation, where if the rude *Epicure* and the *Stoicke* cannot cry him downe enough at *Corinth*, *Iewes* ſhall riſe againſt him, and bring

Acts 17.22.

him to the iudgement ſeat before *Gallio* the chiefe Deputie, *for doing things otherwiſe than the Law*; but maugre all their ſpight, it was found (ſaid the Text) but a —*cauill of names and words*,— and he is diſmiſt the Tribunall with conſent of the Iudge, and little glorie to the Perſecutor: The ſtorie you may finde in the 18. of this Booke, the application neerer home, thus. There is an out-ſide auſteritie, which lookes grim vpon offences, and pretends ſtrangely to publique reformation; but the heart is double, and the deſigne baſe, when it is not out of zeale to the common cauſe, but enuy to the perſon. There are ſome which can harbour cleanely an inueterate grudge, and like cunning Apothecaries, guild handſomely their bitter pils; but when occaſion of reuenge is offered, like wind that is crept into the cauernes of the earth, it ſwels and ſtruggles, and ſhakes the whole maſſe and bulke till it hath vent, which not finding cloſe enough by their owne perſons, they ſet their Pioners a digging, and their Moles are heauing vnder earth, thinking to blow vp all vnſeene. There is no malice ſo deſperate as that which lies in ambuſh, and with her fangs hid, that proiect is euer mercileſſe, though the ſtroake miſcarrie.

Acts 18. 5.

Beloued, if *Athens* be thus an enemie to *Athens*, and will nurſe vp Snakes in her owne boſome, and Vultures for her owne heart, what can ſhe expect from the lips of Aſpes, and venome of ſharpe ſet Tongues, which cry of her as they did ſometimes of *Ieruſalem*, —*Downe with it euen to the ground?* —*The Virgin daughter is become an Harlot*, the rendeuouz of the *Epicure*, the *Synagogue* of Lewdneſſe, *the Pap of Exorbitancie*,—Τινες ἔλεγον,—*Some ſayd it*. Some, that not only went out from vs, but were of vs too, but whileſt here little better than profeſt *Epicures*, at *Rome* (lately) bold *Stoickes*, and in a beardleſſe auſteritie, cry downe the Diſcipline of *Athens* in open Senate; There are ſome ſo ambitious of the thing called *Honour*,

Honour, (indeed but a meere tympanie and aire of true Honour) that they will venter for it thorow the iawes of Periurie, forgetting the loyaltie they owed to their sometimes Mother, and the fearefull engagements made her by way of oath, for the vindicating of her honour; but these haue *said*, and had they said truely, it had beene in such a high iniustice, and in sonnes too broadly discouers their little truth of affection, and lesse of iudgement. As for those ignorant cries the monster Multitude casts vpon *Athens*, here, she hath made the obiect, both of their scorne and pitie. The wounds, the vnnaturall wounds from her owne *Nero* so touch our *Agrippina*.

And now the *Epicure* and the *Stoicke haue said*, *said* and done what they can, against *Paul* and against *Athens*; you haue heard their violence, please you now turne your attentions from the *Philosopher* to the *Diuine*, and heare —*What the Babler will say*.

What will this Babler say?

A God, at *Myletum*? at *Lystra*, *Mercurie*? and at *Athens*, a *Babler*? Sure mens censures varie with the place, and as the Clime is seated, so is the opinion: Had they steept all their malice and wit in one headpeece, and vented it by a tongue more scurrilous than that of *Rabshekey*, they could not haue prophaned the honour of an Apostle with a terme of such barbarousnesse and derogation. *Babler*; A word so foule and odious, of that latitude and various signification in the originall, that both Translators and Expositors haue beene plunged strangely and diuided, in the apt rendring it in a second Language; to omit the vulgar ones of —*Nugator*, *Rabula*, *Garrulus*, *Blaterator*,— as of those which follow

Pars 2. Act. 28. vers. 6. & Cap. 24. 12.

Hesichius. ὁ φλυαρος. - *Leonardus Aretinus.*

follow the heele and tracke of the letter meerely; others, which more closely pursue the Metaphor, giue it vs, by —*Seminator-verborum*,— a sower of words; others —*Semini-verbius*,— a seeder of them; a third sort, —*Seminilegus*,— a gatherer of seeds,— and this latter seemes to kisse and affie neereſt with the nature of the word σπερμολόγος, an *Attick* one, (sayes *Caietan*) metaphorically applyed (here) and hath reference to those σπερμολόγοι, certaine Birds (*Aretius* tels vs) so called, —ἀπὸ τῦ τὰ σπέρματα αἰολέγειν— from gathering of seeds, or —ἀπὸ τῦ σφείρειν τοὺς λόγους— from sowing of speeches, —though this latter deriuation affect not some, as doubly *peccant*, in the Etymon and the Metaphor; for then λογοσπόρος had beene more genuine, so *Beza*. Birds they were of vile esteeme amongst the *Athenians*, vse-lesse, neither for food nor song, —*Sed garritu perpetuò laborantes*,— so continually chattering, that they did racke and perplex the eares of all that heard them; in so much, that it grew prouerbiall amongst the *Attick*s, that hee that was loud in his discourse, or impertinent, or profuse, was instantly —σπερμολόγος, which seemes to sound one with that σπερματολόγος *Athenæus* touches, —πτηνὰς σπερματολόγους— quoted by *Erasmus*. The first (for ought I reade) that euer made vse of the word in this disgracefull way was *Demosthenes*, and he flung it vpon *Æschines*, who being an *Athenian*, dropt it (belike) afterwards amongst some of the Philosophers, and a *Stoicke* takes it vp, and bestowes it here on an Apostle. It was well shoulder'd from the *Philosopher* to the *Diuine*; but mee thinkes it should not sticke there. *Babling* ill becomes the lips of the *Lenite*; and it cannot hang truely vpon that tongue which hath beene toucht with a coale from the Altar; and sure iustice cannot put it on vs, it must bee malice, or preiudice, or both, and both haue done it, not onely on vs, but that great Apostle *Paul* himselfe, though choicely verst in all wayes of learning,

a knowne

Beza in locum, Vetus lectio.

Erasmus in locum.

Caietan in loc.

Aretius in loc.

Beza vt supra.

Athenæus citatur ab Erasmo in loc.

Aretius & Erasmus in loc.

a knowne Scholler, a profeſt Diſputant, a great Doctor of the *Gentiles*, brought vp at the feet of *Gamaliel*, one that had done ſo many miracles to the conuerſion of many, aſtoniſhment of all, yet hee cannot paſſe an *Athenian* without his laſh, a *Philoſopher* without his quip,—where the Gowne is ſo frequent, hard baulking the Criticke; *Liuie* will not like *Trogus*, nor *Caligula*, *Liuie*; *Athanæus*, *Plato*, or a third *Athanaus*; *Tully*, *Demoſthenes*, or the *Lypſian*, *Tully*; ſo many fancies, ſo many cenſures,—no auoyding them at *Athens*. Nay, were *Paul* a ſecond time to arriue it, hee might yet perchance meet with an *Epicure* or a *Stoicke*, would haue a fling at him with his *Quid vult Seminilegus iſte? What will this Babler ſay?* And this venome towards *Paul* ſwels not onely at *Athens*, but at *Derbe*, and *Lyſtra*, and the chiefe Cities of *Lycaonia*; ſcarce one in a Kingdome but would ierke at a *Paul*; and if he chance to come before *Fœlix* the Gouernour, ſome blacke-mouthed *Tertullus* will bee bawling at the barre, ready bill'd with a falſe accuſation, —*This man is a mouer of ſedition, goes about to pollute the Temple, a chiefe maintainer of the Sect of the Nazarites.*— Thus ſecular malice (thorow all ages) hath oppoſed the true members of the Church, and if it cannot diſparage the honour of their title, it will ſpightfully plot the traducement of their honour, —*Vp thou Bald-pate, Vp thou Bald-pate*, children can cry at *Bethel*;—and, He is factious, he is vnconformable, he is a *Babler* at *Athens*, is the popular and common *Vogue*. Here is a large field offered mee, thorow which I might trauell, but this is not my way, it is too trodden; euerie Hackney rodes it, I haue found out as neere a cut, though the paſſage may ſeeme more ſtony and vneuen; thither bend I, where I ſhall ſhew you, how in Diuine matters wee may bee ſaid to *babble?* how in Secular? in either how not? The *Symptomes* of that *Lip-diſeaſe*, the danger, the iudgement on it, the cure. Let the *Epicure* and the *Stoicke*, (awhile) lay

Acts 24. 5.

2 King 2. 23.

lay by their cenſure, and heare, now —*What this Babler will ſay?*—

Hooker, lib. 5. Eccleſ. Pol.

Charron, lib. 3. Wiſdome.

Speech is the verie image, whereby the Minde and Soule of the ſpeaker conueyeth it ſelfe into the boſome of him that heareth. The Sterne and Rother of the Soule, which diſpoſeth the hearts and affections of men, like certaine notes to make vp an exact harmony. But this muſt bee ſoft and gentle then, not ouerſcrued; It is with Speech, as it is with Tunes, if keyed too high, racke no leſſe the Inſtrument than the eare that heares them, when thoſe which are lower pitcht make the harmony both full and ſweeter; your tumid and forced language harrowes the attention, when the facill and flowing ſtile doth not ſo much inuite applauſe, as command it; it is a gaudy, but an emaſculate and weake eloquence, which is dreſt onely in a pompe of words, and glories more in the ſtrength of the *Epithete*, than the matter; this is the *Body*, the other but the *Garment* of our diſcourſe, which wee ſhould ſuit as well to euerie ſubiect, as occaſion; ſometimes more liberally, ſometimes more contractedly, leſt we be ſaid to *babble*,—for it is true what *Archidamus* told the Orator of old,—They which know how to ſpeake well, know alſo their times of ſilence.—And (indeed) to ſpeake appoſitely and much, is not the part of one man, I am ſure, not of a wiſe man.—*The words of him which hath vnderſtanding, are weighed in the balance.*—Marke—weighed in the Balance.—Here is deliberation of ſpeech, euenneſſe—*Pone Domine cuſtodiam ori meo*,—was the prayer of *Dauid*,—ſet a watch before my lips. And in the Law of *Moſes*, the Veſſell that had not the couering faſtened to it was vncleane; and therefore the inner parts of a foole are reſembled to a broken veſſell, which hath neither part entire, nor couering, He can keepe no knowledge while he liueth, *Eccluſ.* 21. 14. Hereupon thoſe more nobly bred amongſt the *Romanes*, learned firſt to hold their peace, and afterwards

Heccatus.

Eccluſ. 21. 25.

Pſal. 141. 3.

Plutar.

to

to ſpeake.—For, *Vndè illi cura cordis* (ſaith *Bernard*) *cui ne ipſa quidèm adhùc oris circumſpectio?* Hee is an ill treaſurer of his owne thoughts, that keepes not the doores of his lips ſhut; and that heart is neuer lockt faſt vpon any ſecret, where a profuſe tongue layes intereſt to the Key. *De triplici Cuſtodia: ling. man. ment.*

And therefore Nature hath prouided well in fortifying this member more than any part of the *Bodie*, ſetting a garriſon of the ſtrong and ſtout men about it, *Eccleſ.* 12. doubly intrenching it with lips and teeth, not ſo much to oppoſe a forraine inuaſion as to allay mutinies within, for the tongue is an vnruely member; and ſides much with the peruerſneſſe of our will; and therefore Reaſon ſhould keepe ſtrict Sentinell vpon it, and as well direct, as guard it. Nature hath proportioned vs a double eare and eye to a ſingle tongue, and Reaſon interprets inſtantly —*We ſhould heare and ſee twice, ere wee ſpeake once.* And indeed our tongues ſhould follow our ſenſe (ſayes *Auguſtine*) and not our will, and the Father puts the foole handſomely vpon him, —*Qui non priùs verbum ducit ad linguam rationis, quàm educat ad linguam oris.*— *Ad Fratres in Erem. ſerm. 2.*

Let Reaſon (ſaith the Sonne of *Syrach*) goe before euerie enterprize and counſell to euerie action, to euerie vertuous action, (beſides the latter of theſe) the Philoſopher allowes a double Aduerbe, —*Scienter, Conſtanter.*—So that euerie diſcreet deſigne muſt haue beſides Reaſon, Knowledge, Counſell, Conſtancie; Reaſon and Knowledge, the pole and card to direct it; Counſell, Conſtancie, to ſteere and ballace it. Hence it is that the tongue of a wiſe man is in his heart, and where the heart of a foole is, no ignorance ſo womaniſh but tels you. Eccluſ. 37. 16. *Ariſtotle Ellue. lib. 3.* Eccluſ. 21.

So that the obſeruation of S. *Bernard* comes ſeaſonably here, —*Non perſonam tibi velim ſuſpectam eſſe, ſed linguam, præſertim in ſermocinatione communi,*— In common talke we are not to heed the perſon ſo much as the *Bernard vt ſup.*

tongue, for by the *babling* of that wee may roue at the weight or weakneſſe of the Maſter; for commonly he that nothing but talkes, talkes nothing, nothing of bulke or ſubſtance, ſhels onely and barkes of things without their pith or kernell.

To auoid then this diſeaſe of *babling* and profuſe emptying of vaine words, the Diſciples were preſcribed, — their —*Habete ſal in vobis*; — and ſalt (you know) was commanded of old, not onely to Men, but to *Sacrifices* and *Words*. That to words (not ſauoured aright) S. *Auguſtine* cals, —*Sal inſatuatum ad nullum condimentum*, — it ſeaſons nothing as it ſhould doe, euerie thing reliſhes amiſſe it toucheth. For the *Babler* doth not meaſure words by their weight, but by their number, neither regards he what he ſpeakes, but how much; Thus whiles he labours to perſwade the eare, he wounds it, and to inuite his hearer, he torments him. In the Leuitical Law, the man that had—*Fluxum ſeminis*,—was vncleane;— And *Gregorie* turnes the Allegorie on the diſpencers of holy Myſteries. —Gods Word is the Seed, the Preacher the Sower of it; or, as *The* Father hath it on the Parable, —*Cophinus ſeminantis*,—the Seedeſmans basket. —If he be then —*Incantè loquax*,— vnpremeditately *babling*,— *Non ad vſum generis, ſed ad immunditiam ſemen effundit*,— and ſuch an one in Primitiue times was called -*Semini-verbius*,- the Father tels vs in the ſecond part of his *Paſtorals*, 4. Chapter. And no doubt he that ſowes ouermuch by the Tongue, ſhall ſeldome fructifie, except the ſeed be choice and orderly diſpoſed, Speech being *the more exquiſite communication of Diſcourſe and Reaſon*, which as it ſhould not bee too courſely open, ſo not inuolued; Hence the *Athenian* compared it to a rich peece of Arras drawne out in varietie of Stories, which diſplayed, opened both delight and wonder, but folded vp, neither; For, it is with Speech, as with ſome Aromaticks and perfumes, which in the maſſe & roll ſmell little, but

Marke 9.
Leuit. 12. 13.
Coloſſ. 4. 6.
Ad Fratres in Erem. ſerm. 2.
Auguſt. in Parab. ſeminan.
Greg. lib. 2. Paſt. cap. 4.
Charron, lib. 3.
Themiſtocles.

but beaten abroad fill the roome with fragrancie. Matter wound vp in obſcuritie of language growes to the nature of a Riddle, and is not ſo properly Speech, as Myſterie; Things that hammer onely on our eares, not our intellectuals, are no more words, but ſounds, meere —*babling*—aire(only,) beaten with diſtinctleſſe and confuſed noyſe, nothing of ſubſtance in it for matter, or for forme; And the man that affects ſuch inarticulateneſſe, heare how *Gregorie* playes vpon, —*Ego ſolertiæ nomine admiror, ne dicam, ſtultitiæ.* A wiſe man(ſayes the Philoſopher of old) when he openeth his lips, as in a Temple wee Behold the goodly ſimilitudes and images of the Soule.— And indeed that Eloquence that is made the obiect of our ſenſe and intellectuals, carries with it both maieſtie and imitation, when that which runnes in a miſt or vaile, Cenſure for the moſt part, ſometimes, Pitie. Let the *Babler* then that thus ſpeakes in a cloud, —*Pray that hee may interpret*, 1 *Cor.* 14. 13. it will require a Comment from his owne induſtrie; others are too dull to vndertake a taske of ſuch an endleſſe trauell. It is a preposterous way of interpretation, when the Gloſſe growes obſcurer than the Text; Sermons which were firſt intended for the illumination of the vnderſtanding, are at length growne like thoſe anſwers of the Oracles, both intricate and doubtfull, They will require the heat of a ſublimated braine, either to apprehend their raptures, or to reconcile them. But why at *Athens* ſuch prodigies of Learning? Such monſters of affectation? Why this elaborate vanitie? This induſtrious *babling*? Let it no more touch the grauitie of the *Tippet* or the *Scarlet*, as fitter for a Deske than a Pulpit, and a laſh than a reproofe. But ſoft *Stoicke*. Let mee not bee cenſured here too haſtily a *Babler*. I am not ſo much a friend to the ſlouenly diſcourſe, as to loath that which hath a decent and modeſt dreſſe; words apt and choyſe, I hate not, onely thoſe tortured and affected ones; I preferre

Nazian. in Præfat. Apol. Socrates.

1 Cor. 14. 13.

Saint *Auguſtines* golden Key before his woodden, though this may vnlocke Myſteries as well as that; yet would I not giue way to the kick-ſhawed diſcourſe, where there is commonly more ſawce than meat; or, as *Quintillian* ſpake of *Seneca*, —*Chalke without Sand*,— more of luſtre than of weight; It is the well-wouen and ſubſtantiall peece taskes mee, yet that too, not without the flouriſhings and interm'xtures of diſcreet language. For it is here as it is in Needle-workes, where wee allow light colours, ſo the ground bee ſad. The Breſt-plate of Exod. 28. 15. Iudgement, which *Aaron* wore, was made with embroydered workes, and in the Ephod, there were as well diuerſities of colours, as of riches, —Blew ſilke, and Purple, and Scarlet, and fine Linnen.— That then of *Epiphanius* is worthy both of your memorie and imitation, —whoſe workes were read of the ſimple for the words, of the Learned for the matter.— So, —hee that will not runne the cenſure of a *Babler*, muſt haue as well his deepes for the Elephant, as his ſhallowes for the Lambe; Knowing that ſome are tranſported with heat of fancie, and others with ſtrength of iudgement, and it is in the choyce of either, as in that of Stuffes, which ſome buy for the roundneſſe and ſubſtance of the threed, others for the lightneſſe of the colour. Matter not cloathed in handſomeneſſe of words is but duſted treaſure, and like ſome Gardens, where there is fatneſſe of earth, no Flower. Your embelliſht phraſe without ſollidneſſe of matter, but —*Copioſa egeſtas* (as Saint *Auguſtine* ſtiles it) a gawdie pouertie, and like ſome vnhappie tillages, where there is more of Poppie and Darnell, than good Corne; But where the materials are cleane, the language keem'd, there is the workmanſhip of an exact Pen-man; If they are both well mixt and cemented, there is a choyce maſter-peece, *Apelles* himſelfe hath beene there.

And howeuer, the diſcourſe that is ſo bruſht and ſwept

others

others haue thought too effeminate for the Pulpit, yet, in ſome it is no way of affectation, but of knowledge. High fancies cannot creepe to humble expreſſions, and the fault is oftentimes in the preiudice or weakneſſe of the receiuer, not in the elaborateneſſe of the Pen-man. Sermons are not to be meaſured by their ſound, or the haſte and vncharitableneſſe of a dull organ, the Eare is a deceitfull one, full of winding and vncertaine doores, and often carries falſe meſſages to the Sence, the Eye as it is a more ſubtill organ, ſo a more certaine, and though that be ſometimes deceiued too when it is not maſter of the diſtance, yet vpon ſtricter peruſall of the obiect, it giues you vncorrupt intelligence, when words paſſe (for the moſt part) by our eares like tunes in a double conſort, which we may heare, not diſtinguiſh.

And yet notwithſtanding, though at *Athens* amongſt Philoſophers, this polite way of diſcourſe may be patiable, and draw on ſometimes approbation, ſometimes applauſe; yet at *Epheſus* (where *Paul* is to encounter Beaſts) it is but meere *Babling*; And to what purpoſe thoſe lofty varieties, in ſprinkled Congregations? Raptures and high viſions are for *Ceſarea*, when *Paul* is to ſpeake before *Agrippa*, thinner exhortations will ſerue the Brethren at *Puteoli*. —And when all thoſe deſcants and quauerings of the plauſible and harmonious tongue ſhall loſe their volubility and ſweetneſſe, and forget to warble (as the time will come (the Preacher tells vs) *when all thoſe Daughters of Muſicke ſhall be brought low*) the plaine ſong muſt take at laſt, that which is ſet to euery capacity and eare; and yet will afford you as well her varieties of ſatisfaction, as delight; to the iudicious ſollid fluentneſſe, to apprehenſions lower-rooſed, waies more trodden to aduiſe, and comfort; to the weake and Souleſicke, the ſtill voice; to the obſtinate and remorſeleſſe, *lowder ſounds*; perhaps this thunder-clap may breed a ſhower, that ſhower, a Sunne-ſhine. Teares and Com-

Acts 26. 13.

Acts 28. 14.

Eccleſ. 12.

fort are the ſucceſſory children of reprehenſion, ſometimes the twinnes; Let the ſword of the Spirit then cut both wayes, but more to reproofe, than menacing; maſter thy Vineger with Oyle, ſo thou ſhalt not ſo much ſharpen the heart of the Sinner, as ſupple it; ſome grow more refractary by rebuke, and ſome more flexible; For, it is with the word of a Preacher, as it is with Fire, which both mollifies, and hardens Steele, according to to the variety of heats. If wee deriue onely from one Throne coales of fire, and hot Thunderbolts, we kindle deſpaire in him we teach, not reformation; It is the temperate and gentle fire ſparkles into zeale, when that which is too high & turbulent, growes at an inſtant both flame and aſhes. *Let the Righteous ſmite me friendly* (ſaies the Kingly Prophet) *but let not their precious balmes breake my head.* —I allow reprehenſion a Rod, but not a Flaile, a hand to laſh the tranſgreſſions of the time, not as ſome doe to threſh them.

Pſal. 141. 5.

Paul will preſcribe the Spirituall combatant a Sword, but not a Speare; except he had the *Grecians*, —which would both wound and cure. *Marah* may haue bitter waters, but *Gilead* muſt haue balme too for the broken heart. Where ſinnes are full kern'd and ripe, I denie not a Sickle to cut them downe, but the ſinner, whether as Corne for the Barne, or Chaffe for the fire, I leaue to the diſpoſall of the great Harueſt-man.

Achillis.

N

In the apparition of God to *Eliah*, on Mount *Horeb*, (you know the Text, and therefore gueſſe at the alluſion) A ſtrong winde rent the Mountaines, and brake in peeces the Rocke, before the Lord; but the Lord was not in it; and there was a great Earthquake and a Fire, but the Lord was not in it. And in thoſe winds and fires, and earthquakes which are both ſeene and heard on our *Horeb* here, the Lord oftentimes is not in them, for then the mountainous and rockie heart would bee cleft aſunder, now it is vnbattered and rib'd with Adamant

1 King. 19. 11, 12.

damant proofe against perſwaſion. Knowing that theſe are but *Men* of Thunder, counterfeit thunder too, and there is a God that rules the true, his hot bolts and coles of Fire they quake and tremble at, not thoſe fire-workes, and ſquibs and flaſhes here below, which ſpleenaticke men fling about (as they thinke) to terrour, but they returne by ſcorne. It is true (ſayes *Bernard*), —*Sermo eſt Ventus*, but it is not alwayes, —*Ventus vrens*, —*ſurge Aquilo, veni Auſter, perfla hortum meum, & fluant Aromata illius*, —Ariſe O North, and come O South (the one (you know) is moiſt, and the other cold) yet both of theſe muſt blow on the garden of the Spouſe that the ſpices thereof may flow out, *Cant.* 4.6. In the Song of *Moſes*, did not doctrine drop as the raine ? and Speech ſtill as dew ? as the ſhower vpon Hearbs ? and as the great raine vpon the Graſſe ? I confeſſe, on *Sinai* once there was a thicke Cloud, Lightning and Thunder, and the mountaine ſmoaked ; but the Text ſayes, —*The people fled from it.* But on mount *Tabor*, the Cloud was bright, the Sunne cleare, and a Voice heard in ſtead of Thunder, and then the Diſciples cry, —*Edificemus Domine*, Let vs build here.

Bernard. de triplici Cuſtod.

Cant. 4.6.

Deut. 32.2.

Exod. 20.18.

Mat. 17.2,4,5.

Amongſt the numberleſſe Gods the Heathens had, and the diuers wayes of Sacrifice they appeaſed them with, the Romaines had their —*Hoſtiam Animalem*, —in which the ſoule onely was conſecrated to God,—the Hoſt they offered muſt be pure and choiſe, not of Bulls or Swine; as creatures fierce and vncleane, but of Kids and Lambs, more innocent and milde, and of theſe too, ſuch as were not lame, or diſeaſed, or had —*Caudam aculeatam*, or, *Linguam nigram*, — ſayes my Antiquary. You ſee ſtings in the taile, and blackneſſe in tongue are exempted here and thought vnfit for this ſacrifice of the Soule.

Alexand. ab Alex. lib 3. cap. 12.

Let the virulent *Babler* leaue the Letter and take the Allegory, and he hath applied ; —For venomous & foule language

language doth exasperate and obdure euen those which the modest and gentle pierces. Let Billowes beat against a Rocke, they fall backe without wounding it, yet if moderate and gentle drops fall on a stone, they hollow it, not by violence, but the often Distillation. Sheepe (sayes *Nazianzen*) are not to be gouerned by rigour, but perswasion; all those impulsions of necessity and force, carry with them a shew of tyranny, and hold neither with Nature nor obseruation, — *Non secùs ac planta per vim manibus inflexa*, — sayes the Father. Bend a Plant (and it is with most men as it is with plants) it turnes againe. There was neuer disposition, not cowardly and base, that violence could worke vpon. Ingenuity if it bee not alwaies voluntary, it may bee led sometimes, but neuer drawne; And therefore *Peter* feedes his flocke, not by constraint, but willingly, and (as your common *Bablers* neuer doe) *not for filthy Lucre, but a ready minde*. 1 *Pet.* 5. 2. And indeed it is this *filthy* — *Lucre* — hath occasioned so many *Bablers* in our Church, those that will say any thing for the inhauncement of their profit, the improuing of their Stipend; Brey at Vniuersities, for a morsell of bread; giues blowes against Learning, make scarres in the face of Knowledge, cry downe the vse of Arts, or what is curiously strung in secular Learnings, abandon them from the lips of the Preacher, and confine him only to a sacred dialect without intermixture of Prophane Knowledge, or sleeke of humane Eloquence; No marrow of the Father, no subtilty of the Schoole-man, no grauity of the Philosopher, no policie of the Historian; thereby depriuing the Church of varietie of Gifts, and manacling and pinning the Holy Ghost to a defect of all outward ornaments, as if that wind which bloweth where it list, were forbade to breathe any where but in their new-fangled and braine-sicke endeuours.

In Præfat. Apolog.

Idem Ibid.

1 Pet. 5. 2.

Hence it is that the distribution of holy Mysteries growes

growes so to contempt, the dispencers of them entitled to termes of obloquie and scorne, exposed to the Paraphrase and Comment of the giering aduersarie. Our *Athens* disparaged, Learning of no price and value, Preaching, *babling*, and the maine reason and inducement, why the whole body of Arts thus reeles and wauers. I haue at length met the *Babler* I desired to grapple with, and we must exchange a few blowes ere we part, in which I shall bee home without much flourish. *Stoicke*, once more forbeare. Stand aloose till we haue past *this* Duell, then let thy censure fall, as the wounds doe, iustly. Suppose wee then a man harnessed and clad with all the glories and habiliments of Nature, besides the rich dowrie and treasure of Art and Knowledge, yet say I not that *this* man, without a supernaturall light from the Scripture, is able to vtter those Mysteries as he ought, either in their strength or decencie. Doubtlesse, the best of ours, either for depth of Knowledge, or sublimitie of Inuention, or accuratenesse of Composure, or cleannesse of Zeale, are comparatiuely meere *Bablings*, and fall many bowes short of those inspired ones of old; neither are they Gods word (sayes *Hooker*) in the same manner that the Sermons of the Prophets were, no they are ambiguously termed his Word, and are no more the same, than is the Discourse the Theame, or the Line the Rule, by which it is drawne; yet haue they a peculiaritie both of vertue and successe; strange prerogatiues ouer the sudden passions and affections of most men, whom they not leade onely, but entangle, and not fetter barely, but intraunce; in a word, they reigne ouer vs, and establish a violent empire and command ouer our verie soules. Diuinitie we confesse the Soueraigne Ladie and Queene of all Sciences, Arts (if you approue the stile) her Maids of Honour. Are we not sacrilegious then to the state of Soueraigntie when we rob it of her traine? The chiefest complement of Greatnesse is the retinue, take away her equi-

Lib. 5. Eccles. Polit.

Doct. *Cowels* Defence, in the Chapter of Preaching.

page you disnoble it. Barre sacred Learning of the attendance of that which is secular, Arts, Sciences, you disrobe it, strip it of its glory. Certaine truths in her cannot fully be discouered without some measure of knowledge in them all. The Axioms & principles of Humanity though they a little runne by those of Diuinity, yet they doe not thwart them, there may be difference, no contrariety, no not in those things which seeme to carry a shew of contrariety. Reason our Mistresse tels vs, -*Verũ vero consonat*, - & Truth stands diametrically opposed to Falshood, not to a second truth; for, -*Vero nil verius*, - Philosophicall truths challenge the same sowrce and pedigree Theologicall doe, the same fountaine, and Father, God, and are of the like Truth, though not of the like Authority.

Diuinity (saith *Basill*) is the fruit, Arts as the leaues, and leaues are not onely for ornament but succour.

Hence flowes that admirable consent and harmony between the naturall patefactions of God, and the supernaturall; for, from God is both Reason and Scripture, and Reason being obscured by Sinne, and blemished by her many errors, the Scripture doth vnscale, and beames againe, and so sets her free from her former obliquities and digressions, the light of Nature being dimmed (saith *Ambrose*) was to be cleared by the Law, the mists of the Law by the *Gospell*, so that Grace doth not abolish Nature, but perfect it, neither doth Nature reiect Grace (saith *Augustine*) but embrace it. Nay, my Authour (and I haue gleaned I confesse some few eares of Corne from his more plentifull crop) quotes *Tertullian* too very appositely, (and 'tis like *Tertullians* both for the marrow and the reach.) -God first sent Nature to be our Schoolemistresse, being after to send Prophesie, that thou being first the Disciple of Nature, mightest afterwards the more easily be induced to beleeue Prophesie. We may not think then the *Ipse Dixit* of the *Philosopher*, or the weighty depositions of prophane Authors, to be meere *Chimæraes*, fruitlesse Fancies, *Bablings* of no consequence; though some of them were not true Visions, yet they were not all

Amand. Polan. li. 2. Logic. fol. 213.

De Fuga sæculi. cap. 3.

Aug. in Ps. 101.

Theolog. Logic. pag. 200.

starke

ſtarke Dreames, *Paul* then would neuer haue confuted the Idolaters of *Athens* with their owne Text, --*Some of your owne Poets haue ſaid it* ; There may be much Hay and Stubble amongſt them, but there is ſome Gold, and precious Stones ; try them, if they endure not the touch, throw them by as metals too courſe and droſſie ; but if there be rich Oare mixt with veines of earth, why not ſeparated? Why not purged by the fire of Gods word? Why may not this ſtranger to *Iſrael*, her head ſhauen, & the haire of her eye-browes cut, be admitted into the Sanctuary? If one *Copernicus* be troubled with the Vertigo, and would haue the earth runne round as his head does, ſhall a whole Sect of *Ariſtotelians* be liable to a diſeaſe of giddineſſe? Though a *Stoicke* or an *Epicure* oppoſe *Paul*, yet at *Athens* there were *Academickes*, and *Peripatetickes*, Philoſophers too, without their tumult, and for ought the Text caueat's me to the contrary, they were his Conuerts too. And it is euident that the Apoſtles, and after them the Fathers, made Arts the chiefe weapons againſt the enemies of the Church, for as ſome opinions would be conuinced without humane Learning, ſo others affections would not be perſwaded without that eloquence, thus they wounded the Hereſies and Apoſtaſies of their times, when the Reuolted *Iulian* was impelled to ſay ; —*We are ſtrucke thorow with our own Darts.* —All Science whatſoeuer is in the nature of good ; and good is good, whereſoeuer I finde it. *Vpon a withered branch* (ſayes *Auguſtine* to his Donatiſt) *a Grape ſometimes may hang, ſhall I refuſe the Grape becauſe the ſtalke is withered?* If on a tempeſtuous ſhore I meet by chance a rich peece of Amber, or richer Pearle, amongſt oare, and ſhels, and froth, and ſands, ſhall I refuſe either for the ſtench of the place or the companions? I haue ſeldome read of any thing but a fooliſh Cocke that refuſed Treaſure, though on a dunghill. I know Heathens had their ſlime and mud, and ſome

Acts 17. 28.

Doct. *Cowell.*

Auguſt.

Gregor. Nazian.

Auguſt de Baptiſt. contra Donatiſt. lib. 6. cap. 2.

of their ſtreames ran impurely, yet they had their Cryſtall fountaines too, eſpecially the *Platoniſts*, of which wee might *draw* and *drinke*, and drinke our fill, and drinke as *our owne*, too, (*Auguſtine* ſayes) they being in the tenure of vniuſt poſſeſſours. For as the *Iſraelites* (it is the Fathers ſimilitude) tooke from the *Ægyptians* their Idols, and Rings, and Siluer, and Gold, and beſtowed the ſame vpon the adorning of the Lords Tabernacle, which they had abuſed by pride and riot, to the beautifying of the Temples of their falſe Gods, and did this, —*Non auctoritate propriâ ſed præcepto* (ſaies the Father) not by the inſtigation of their owne will, but by mandat, *ſic Doctrinæ omnes Gentilium, non ſolum ſimulata & ſuperſtioſa figmenta, &c.* So all thoſe Doctrines of the Gentiles (their ſuperſtitious fictions expunged and layd by) their liberall Diſciplines and Precepts of manners (which were their Gold and Siluer) may be reduced to the vſe of ſacred Learning, & a Chriſtian may challenge them— *Ad vſum inſtum prædicandi Euangelij*, —they are the Fathers owne words. —Howeuer he puts in a caueat by the way, -a- *ſed hoc modo inſtructus*, —the Diuine that is thus accommodated when hee ſhall addreſſe himſelfe to the vſe and ſearch of theſe heathen treaſures,— *Illud Apoſtolicum cogitare non ceſſet*, —*Scientia inflat, charitas ædificat*, —in his *Lib. 2. de Doct. Chriſtian. 40. Cap.* I neuer yet read that the true vſe of ſecular Learning took from the glory of that which was Diuine, I haue, that it hath added, nor that any thing gleaned and pickt, and culled with a cleane hand was diſtaſtfull vnto God, I haue that it was approued. I know there is a *Venomous eloquence* (as *Cyprian* wrote of that of *Nouatus*) and this perchance the *Babler* himſelfe vſes, when he leades ſilly Creatures captiue, but it is odious both to God and Man, and hath beene the maine Engine in all Ages by which *Schiſmes* and *Hereſies* haue wrought. In thoſe Sacrifices of old, *Leuitic. 4. 5.* You know whatſoeuer

Auguſt. lib. 2. de Doct. Chriſt. c. 40.

1 Cor. 8.

Epiſt. ad Cornel.

was

was vncleane, *was an abomination vnto the Lord*; the Offering it selfe must be without blemish, the Altar seuen dayes cleansed before it was layd on, the Priest too washed before the Congregation, ere he dared to immolate; and why not so in this Holocaust and Sacrifice of the lips? Why not the Offering without blemish, the Altar cleansed, the Priest so in his Discourse too, that what is kindled here may burne as a sweet Incense vnto the Lord? smels that are vnsauourie neuer touch his nostrils; sounds harsh and iarring, neuer his eares; and therefore the Bels of *Aaron* were of pure gold,—*Ne subæratum aliquod tinniat in Sacerdotio*,—saith *Gregorie*. *Greg. Nazian. Apolog.*

It is a sullennesse, or rather policie, most in our age haue got, that what is in a way of eminence and perfection, they censure as a peece of affectation or curiositie, when (God knowes) it is but to colour some finister pretence, and for a fairer varnish of their owne weaknesses. You know the storie of the Painter and the Cocke, and the Boy that kept the liue ones from his shop, lest comming too nigh, the vnskilfulnesse of that hand should bee discouered, which had drawne the other at so rude a posture.

There is a malicious ignorance possessech many, by which they vnder-value all things aboue their spheare, and cry downe that industrie or Art in others, which is beyond the verge and fathome of their owne abilities. But why should Moles repine that others see? Or Cripples murmure that others halt not? *Tolle quod tuum est & vade*. Yet loe how euen those last and gasping times keepe vp with the manner of those of old, both in their spleene and weakenesse. There bee (saith the Father to his *Marcellinus*) that account inciuilitie of Manners, and rudenesse of Speech, true Holinesse,-and with such, —*Quis non Vicus abundat?* Would I could not say, —*Quæ Academia?* These Cynickes are in euerie Tub, these *Stoickes* here at *Athens*. But why should the talke *Hieron. ad Colphurnium.* *Hieronymus.*

Eccleſ. 21. 15. of ſuch be a burthen in our way? Learning vnto a wiſeman is as an ornament of Gold, and like a bracelet on his Arme, but Fetters about the feet, and Manacles about the hands; of whom? of him that (but now) was

Eccluſ. 21. 21. the burthen in the way, the *Foole*, whom leſt wee ſhould leaue without his companion, *Syracides* brings home to the gates of the *Babler*, and I will leaue him there,

Eccluſ. 21. 18. —*As a houſe that is deſtroyed, ſo is Learning to a Foole*, and *his Knowledge is but talke without ſenſe*, Eccluſ. 21. 18. the taile of the Verſe carrieth the ſting; for much of our *Bablers* knowledge is little better than —*Sermo ſine ſenſu*, Words without Salt, Speech without Ballace. And yet (good Lord) how theſe Lamps burne in our Tabernacles, theſe Bells ſound in our Sanctuary? They are the thunderbolts of our Congregations, the Hotſpurres of our Pulpits. Againſt the ſinnes of the time they clacke loud, and often, but it is like Mills driuen by a haſty torrent, which grinde much, but not cleane; And indeed it is not much they grinde neither, in ſubſtance, but in ſhew, neither is the labour ſo ſuperlatiue, as the noiſe. Some that haue been conuerſant in the trade, ſay, that Corne that is cleane and maſſie, will lye long in the wombe and body of the Mill, and requires all the induſtry of ſtone and water, and will not be deliuered without ſome time and trauaile, when graines which are mixt and courſe, run thorow with leſſe difficulty, and more tumult. The *Babler* will apply. Thus wee ſee empty veſſels ſound much, and ſhallow ſtreames run ſwift and loud, but on barren grounds, when thoſe deeper ones glide ſlowly, as with more grauity ſo more ſilence, yet on fat ſoules, and ſo the neighbouring Fields grow fertile with their abundance. If all truth of Religion reigned in the Tongue, and the ſubduing of our manifold rebellions in the mortification of the Looke, there were no ſanctitie but here. —But the heat of this mans zeale is like that of Glaſſe, which will be blowne into

into any forme according to the fancie of him that blowes it, ſometimes into that of a Serpent, ſometimes of a Doue, but more often of a Serpent, than of a Doue, not for the wiſdome of it, but the venome. Euerie word is a ſting againſt the Church, her Diſcipline, truth of Gouernment, Hee *babbles* ſhrewdly againſt each Inſtitution of it, State, Ceremonies, makes them adulterate, the dreſſes of the Great Whore, and ſets all without the walls of Reformation, which wheele and roll not with the giddineſſe of his tenents. The Golden-mouthed *Homiliſt*, in his fourth vpon the *Acts*, ſpeaking of that miraculous way of the Holy Ghoſts deſcent vpon the Apoſtles in the day of *Pentecoſt*, obſerues nimbly, thus; —There came a ſound from Heauen, —*As it were*— of a ruſhing and mightie wind, and there appeared to them Clouen Tongues, —*As it were*— of Fire, —*Rectè vbique additum eſt, — Velut — nequid ſenſibile de Spiritu ſuſpicareris*, — ſayes the Father. —And indeed, in thoſe phanaticke Spirits, though the Tongue bee fierie, and the voice as the Winds, ruſhing; yet in themſelues there is nothing ſenſible; For as thoſe which appeared to the Apoſtles, were but — *Velut ignea*, — and *Velut flatus*, — ſo this orall vehemencie is but — *Velut Zelus*, and *Velut Indignatio*, — Falſe fire, or at beſt, but ſome hot exhalation in the braine ſet on fire by continuall motion and agitation of the Tongue, and there it burnes ſometimes to the madneſſe of the Profeſſour, moſt times, of the Diſciple. Againe, theſe Tongues are ſaid to *ſit* vpon the Apoſtles, —*Sedenai verbum ſtabilitatem ac manſionem denotat*, the ſame Father—ſitting preſuppoſes *Stabilitie* and *Manſion*, but moſt of theſe haue neither, either in their opinion, or courſe of life, but as the contribution ebbes or flowes; ſo they hoyſe, or ſtrike ſaile, either way, ſometimes for the wide Maine, ſometimes for the next Harbour. Againe, the Apoſtles are ſaid

Chryſoſt.

Chryſoſt. Homil. 4. in Act.

ſaid there, to be *filled* with the *Holy Ghoſt*. —*Rectè repleti, non enim vulgaritèr acceperunt gratiam Spiritus, ſed eouſque vt implerentur*, the Father ſtill. —Where the Spirit powres out, it leaues no part emptie, it doth fill, fill vp euen to the brim, giues power of ſpeaking roundly and fully: where it doth giue power, —no Rheumaticke Enthuſiaſmes, no languiſhing eiaculations, but ſuch as the Spirit indeed haue dictated, ſuch as flow from lips immediately touched with the true Cherubin, and a Tongue ſwolne with inſpiration. Againe, the Tongues which ſate vpon the Apoſtles were *clouen Tongues*, other tongues, *verſ.* 4. and S. *Marke* cals them *new Tongues*. They were not confined then to a ſingle dialect, to *babling* meerely in our Mother-tongue, but the Text ſayes they had diuers Tongues, of the *Parthian*, and *Mede*, and *Elamite*, *Phrygian* and *Pamphilian*, and of thoſe of *Lybia* which is beſide *Cyrene*; and in thoſe (and other Tongues too) they *ſpake the wonderfull workes of God*, Acts 2. 11. Laſtly, this Viſion they ſaw when they were in the Temple, not in a Cloyſter, a Barne, a Wood, a Conuenticle, and they were in the Temple with one accord too, with one Office, one Spirit, one Minde, one Faith; not here a *Separatiſt*, there a *Browniſt*, yonder a *Familiſt*, neere him an *Anabaptiſt*, but as their Faith was one, ſo was their life, and (if brought to the teſt) their death too. That was not *Religion* with them which was diuided, nor that *not vnitie of opinion*, which they would not burne for. Some *Heathens* haue ſhewed ſuch reſolution and truth, euen in their *falſe Religion*; ſuch were thoſe —*Arnales Sacerdotes*— of old amongſt the *Romanes*, the *Solduni* amongſt the *Aquitans*; the *Ægyptians* alſo had their συναποθνήσκοντες, ſo called, becauſe promiſcuouſly enioying each others benefits, as in one *Religion*, ſo in one Loue they would die together; ſuch were the *Hunnes*, *Hyberi*, *Cantabri*, and others, which were ioynt-ſharers of each others miſeries and fortunes; and if

Vide Geneua Notes in 2. chap. Acts.

Plin. li. 18 *cap.* 2.

Cæſar lib. 3. *Galli.*

Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. *cap.* 26. & *cap.* 12. *lib.* 3.

one

one by disaster or disease met with Calamitie or Fate, the other sought it.—

—— *Placidamque petunt per vulnera mortem.*

If in matters therefore, as well morall as diuine, there was such reciprocation of old; and not onely in *Religions* which were tainted, and smelt not of the true God, but in that too which hath beene touched and influenced by the *Spirit of the Almightie*, there was such punctuall correspondence then, why such combustion now? Why those daily scarres and wounds, both by the Tongue and Pen? Why so much gall in our Pulpit, such wormewood at the Presse? Why those *Ciuill warres* in our owne tenents? Such stabbings in particular opinions? Such heart-burnings in our *Brethren?* to the great disquiet of our Mother Church, and her Sonne they so labour to disinherit, the *Protestant*, the wounded *Protestant*, who hath beene now so long crucified betweene the —*Non-Conformist* and the *Romanist*, that at length hee is inforced to flie to *Cæsar* for sanctuarie, and in the verie rescue and *Appeale*, like the poore man betweene *Ierusalem* and *Ierico*, *hee falls into the hands of Theeues*, two desperate cut-throats and enemies to the Truth and Him, the *Pelagian* and the *Arminian*. But no more (Beloued) of those daggers and stillettoes to our owne brests by the crueltie of our owne *Tribe*; Know, dissention is the verie gate of ruine, and the breach at which destruction enters. Ciuill warres are as dangerous in matters of *Religion* as *State*, and proue the Earth-quakes both of Church and Common-wealth. The storie of the *Romanes shafts* is both old and trodden, but verie pertinent; *In the Bundle they neuer felt iniurie of hand, one by one were the conquest of a finger*; and *Tacitus* speakes of *Apronius* Souldiers, —*Satis valiai si simul, &c.* as long as they marched

in their combined rankes they ſtood aloofe all danger, but, theſe diuided, they grew the prey and ſlaughter of the Aduerſarie; and thus —*Dum ſinguli pugnant, vniuerſi vincuntur.* A mutiny or rent in an Army *is the Souldiers paſſing-bell,* Death followes, or deſpaire of victory, when thoſe which are knit vp in one heart of courage & affection, trample on diſtruſt as if they had already worne the palme and glory of their triumph. And it ſpeeds no better in a diuided Church, where *Sciſmes* and *Factions* like ſo many *rents* and *breaches,* haue hewed-out a way to her ouerthrow and ruine. No more *ſtruglings* then by vnnaturall *twinnes* in the *wombe* of our *Rebecca.* No more warre in her members, no more *Bablings* in their tongue, no more venome in their Pen, to the great aduantage of the *Aduerſary,* whoſe artillery is ready, his bow bent, the arrow on the ſtring, and malice leuelling at the very boſome of the *Church,* (I pray God, not of the *State* too) and waits only opportunity to looſen it. But

Epheſ. 4. 2,3,4, 5,6. *let vs with all humbleneſſe of minde, meekneſſe, long-ſuffering, (ſupporting one another through loue) endeuour to keepe the vnity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, knowing there is one Body, one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme, one God and Father of all, who is aboue all, through all, and in you all.*

And now *Paul* hath beene at *Athens,* paſt his bickerings with the *Epicure,* and the *Stoicke,* had their cenſure, —*He is a Babler*; —He is now rigged for *Corinth,* and by this time arriued there, where I leaue him—*In earneſt diſputation with the Grecians in the Synagogue.* The *Stoick* is returned to his *Porch* too, the *Epicure* to his *Garden.* But here is an *Athens* too, though no *Paul,* or at leaſt no ſuch *Paul*; and yonder ſits a *Stoicke,* and he whiſpers to his *Epicure,—What will this Babler ſay?* He ſaies—*Glory to God on high, in Earth peace, good-will towards men.* He ſayes, hearty and true Allegiance to his Soueraigne, —wiſhes the budding and continuance of a temporall

Acts 19.5.

Crowne

Crowne here, and the assurance of an immortal one hereafter. —Hee sayes, flourishing to his Church, his Common-wealth, his People; swift and fierce destruction to his Enemies foraine, and (if he haue any such) domesticke. —He sayes, courage to his Nobility, vnity to his Clergy, loue to his Gentry, loialty to his Commonalty. In fine, He sayes prosperity to *Athens* (here) vnanimitie, true brotherhood, happie successe to your studies, to your designes; and *the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ to you all, and with you all*, Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

IACOB and ESAV:

Election. *Reprobation.*

OPENED AND DISCVSSED BY WAY OF SERMON AT PAVLS CROSSE, *March* 4. 1622.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

Auguſt. lib. 7. de Trinitate.

Qui videt hac, vel ex parte, vel per ſpeculum in anigmate, gaudeat cognoſcens Deum, & gratias agat; qui verò non, tendat per pietatem fidei ad videndum, & non per cæcitatem ad calumniandum.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

TO MY MOST HONOVR'D FRIEND

William Brouncker

Esquire, This.

SIR:

Here I owe a iust ſeruice, and would publiſh it, I leſſe feare the cenſure of vain-glorie, than of vnthankfulneſſe; you know the age is both tart and nimble, in her Paraphraſe on thoſe which would be Men in Print; *I haue found it; yet will rather hazard the imputation of a weake man, than an vngratefull: Howeuer, I deſire not ſo much to expoſe my* labours *to the world, as my* loyaltie, *that others might*

might take notice how much you haue beene mine in your cheriſhing of thoſe, *and how I am euer yours in my expreſſions of* this. *Hee that doth but* tacitely *acknowledge the bounties of a* noble *friend, in a manner buries them, when he that proclaimes them, hath in a part requited; he hath repayed his honour, and therefore him, and ſo hath ſatisfied, though not reſtored. If this publike thankfulneſſe of mine, for thoſe daily fauours, ſhall meet with ſo mercifull an interpretation of yours, I eſteeme not any rigid one of the times; I cannot gloze with them, nor you, yet ſhall endeuour to be reputed one of thoſe who vnfainedly honours you, and will doe, whilſt I weare the name and title of*

Your euer friend and ſeruant,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

IACOB *and* ESAV.

ROM. 9. 18.

He will haue mercy on whom he will haue mercy; and whom he will, he hardeneth.

THe Text holds ſome Analogie with the Times we liue in, fraught with no leſſe ſubtilty, than danger; and as an vndiſcreeter prouidence is ſoone oreſhot in thoſe, ſo in this too. We are not here then to cheat our Auditory with a thin diſcourſe; Myſterie is our Theame and Subiect, the very Battlement and Pinacle of Diuinity, which he that too boldly climbes, falls headlong into errour. A taske, though perchance diſproportionable to youthfull vndertakings, and may from ſuch challenge the cenſure of a vaine-glorious enterpriſe: yet giue me leaue to returne, though not ſatisfaction, anſwer. In ſacred Riddles what wee cannot reſolue, giue vs leaue to contemplate; and what not comprehend, admire: where our pencill failes vs to limme in ſo curious a Portraiture, weele play *Timanthes*, and ſhadow with a vaile; and when our reaſon is once *non-plust*, we are huſht in a contented wonder.

Where we may behold the Almightie (in a full shower) powring down his blessings vpon some, scarce deawing or sprinkling them on others; softning this Wax, and hardning that Clay, with one and the selfesame sunne, (his will) and yet that will not clouded with iniustice. Here is that will not onely stagger, but entrance a carnall apprehension; Not a circumstance which is not equally loaded with doubt and amazement, and whose discussing will no lesse inuite than command attention. That which in common passages of Diuinitie doth but transport our thought, in these more mysticall will captiuate: Euerie word is knottie, and full of brambles, and requires the hand of an exact industrie.

It behoues vs then to be warie of our choyce, how either we traffique here with corrupt antiquity (where but to taste were to surfet) or with that moderne Nauie of Expositors, where mixture of opinion will rather cloy than feed, and confound than informe our vnderstanding. I desire not to paraphrase on a reuerend errour, nor to chastise there where I beg information. I shall only request gray haires thus farre to dispence with me, that where their Candle burnes dimly and vncertainly, I may borrow light of a more glorious flame. Not then to beguile time and so noble an attention with quaintnesse of preamble, or diuision: The parts here are, as the persons, and their condition, Two, *Mercie* for whom he will, and they are Sheepe; *Hardening* for whom he will, and these are Goats. Let vs first put them on the right hand, and we shall finde a *Venite Benedicti, Come ye blessed*, here is mercie for you; After, these on the left hand, and we shall meet with an *Ite maledicti, Goe ye cursed*, here is hardning for you: Both which, when we haue in a carefull separation orderly distinguished, wee shall make here the will of the Almightie as free from iniustice, as there his censure, *He will haue mercie on whom he will, &c.*

PART.

PART. I.

He will.

THat the will of God is the principall efficient cause of all those workes which he doth externally from himselfe, so that there is no superiour or precedent cause mouing and impelling it, shines to vs no lesse from the eternity of his will, than the omnipotency; for with that double attribute *Augustine* doth inuest it in his 2. booke *contra Manichæos, cap.* 2. And seeing there is nothing before his will, as being eternall; nothing greater, as being omnipotent; we inferre with that learned Father, that *Neque extra, vel vltra illam causa inquirenda*; There is no cause either without, or beyond it, that being the source and fountaine of all causes, as by a more particular suruey of Gods workes we shall discusse hereafter. For illustration. In his eternall decree, why are some marked out as inheritours of his Sion? others againe expulsed, and banished those blessed Territories? they as vessels of mercy, for the manifestation of his goodnesse; these of furie, for the promulgation of his iustice? Doubtlesse the wil, & the *bene-placitū* of the Almighty as the primary & immediate cause, whereof if there be any more subordinate, they haue all alliance and dependancy on it, *Tanquam à principali intentione primi agentis*. Like inferiour Orbes which haue their influence & motion from a higher mouer. I need not trauaile far either for proofe or instance; our Chapter is bountifull in both. What was the cause that God did chuse *Iacob* and reiect *Esau*? The mediate and secondary cause, was, because he loued *Iacob*, and not *Esau*. But why is his loue incommunicable, and as it seemes in a partiall reseruation, peculiar to that more than this? I know not a more plausible and higher motiue than his will. *Insistendum ergò in particulas,*

culas, cuius vult, & quem vult. Our enquiry here must be cautelous, and slow of foot, lest wee run violently into errour. Here is a *cuius vult* onely for him that hee hath mercy on, and but a *quem vult* for him he hardens; *vltra quas procedere non licèt*, saith *Caluin.* Here is the vtmost Verge & Pillar where reason durst to coast; what is beyond is either vnknowne, or dangerous; how euer some vain-glorious braines (ambitious of mysterious and abstruser knowledge) haue inscribed here their *Multi pertransibunt, & augebitur scientia.* But in so stickle & dangerous a torrent, how are they o'rewhelmed at last? and whilst they so ventrously climbe this steeper turret, throwne desperately into heresie? For mine owne part, I haue euer thought curiosity in diuine affaires but a quaint distraction, rather applauding an humble (yet faithfull) ignorance, than a proud and temerarious knowledge. And had some of the Fathers beene shot-free of this curious insolence, they needed not haue retreated from former Tenents, & so much indeared posterity, no lesse in the review than retractation of laborious errors: Amongst whom *S. Augustine* (though since entituled *Malleus Hæreticorum*) shared not a little in the 83. of his Questions, and 68. Where expounding our place of the Apostle, would thus vindicate the Almighty from iniustice; that God foresaw that in some, *Quo digni sunt iustificatione*; that in others, *Quo digni sunt obtusione*; so making Gods will to depend on a foreseene merit. A position that doth not onely repugne the discipline of holy story, but thwarts the maine tide and current of orthodox antiquity, as in a fuller discourse we shall display anon: and therefore in his 7. Booke *de Prædestinatione Sanctorũ, cap.* 4. he doth chastise his former tenents with a *Deus non elegit opera, sed fidem in præscientiâ*; That God did not elect *Iacob* for foreseene workes, but faith. But because in faith there is as well a merit, as in workes, hee once more rectifies his opinion in the first of his Retractations,

stations, and 23, where he doth peach his sometimes ignorance, and ingeniously declares himselfe, that—*Nondum diligentius quæsiuit, nec inuenit mysteria*, he had not yet throughly sifted that of the Apostle, *Rom.* 11.5. That there was a *remnant according to the election of grace*, which, if it did flow from a foreseene merit, was rather restored than giuen, and therefore (at last) he informes his owne iudgement, and his Readers thus; *Datur quidem fideli, sed data est etiam prius vt esset fidelis*; Grace is giuen to the faithfull, but it is first giuen that he should be faithfull. Hence *Lumbard* in his 1. booke, 41. distinction, pathetically, *Elegit quos voluit Deus gratuitâ misericordiâ, non quia fideles futuri erant, sed vt essent, nec quiâ crediderant, sed vt fierent credentes.* God out of the prerogatiue of his will, and bounty of his goodnesse, hath chosen whom he pleased, not because they were faithfull, but because they should be, and not of themselues beleeuing, but made so. And therefore, that *Vt sim fidelis*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 25. beares a remarkable emphasis; *I haue obtained mercie that I might be faithfull*, not that I was. Here the Pelagian startles, and lately backt with a troope of Arminians, takes head against this truth, fancying and dreaming of certain causes without God, which are not subsisting in God himselfe, but externally mouing the will of God to dispose and determine of seuerall euents, laying this as an vnshaken principle, *Fidem esse conditionem in obiecto eligibili ante electionem*; That faith and obedience (foreseene of God in the Elect) was the necessary condition and cause of their election. I intend not here a pitcht field against the vpstart Sectarie, for I shall meet him anon in a single combat: my purpose now is to be but as a scout, or spie, which discouers the weaknesse of his aduersary, not stands to encounter. And indeed both the time and place suggest me rather to resolue, than debate; and conuince, than dispute an error. That faith then, or any præexisting merit in the person to be elected, was

the cause of his election, is neither warrantable by reason nor primitiue Authority. For God could not foresee in the elect any faith at all, but that which in after times he was to crowne them with, and therefore not considerable as any precedent cause of election, but as the effect and fruit, and consequent thereof.

The primary and chiefe motiue then is that *εὐδοκία*, *Ephes.* 1. 5. the good pleasure of Gods will, which, prompted of it selfe, without any reference to præexisting faith, obedience, merit, as the quality, cause, or condition of it, hath powred grace on this man more than that; *Non solum in Christo, sed per Christum.* And therefore (as that late venerable Synode hath awarded it) *Non ex illis conditionibus facta est, sed ad illas*; That election was not fram'd of these conditions, but to them, as to their effect and issue. And if we commerce a little with passages of holy story, we shall finde that our election points rather to the free will of God in his eternall councell, than to any goodnesse in vs which God foresaw: so *Acts* 13. 48. where we reade of the Gentiles, that many *beleeued* because they were *ordained* to eternall life, & not therefore *ordained* because they formerly *beleeued*. And if wee will not suffer our mindes to be transported either with scruple or nouelty, the text is open, *Ephes.* 1. 4. *He hath chosen vs before the foundations of the world were laid, that we might be holy, not that we were.* And in this very Chapter, *verse* 23. The vessels of mercy are first said to be *prepared* to mercy, then *cald*: and therefore Saint *Austin* in his 86. Tract hereupon, out of a holy indignation, doth check the insolence of those, *Qui præscientiam Dei defendunt contra gratiam Dei*; Which in matters of saluation, obscure and extenuate the grace of God with the foreknowledge of God: for if God did therefore chuse vs, because hee did know, and foresee that wee would be good, hee did not chuse vs to make vs good, but wee rather chose him, in purposing to be good,

Synod. Dort.

which

which if it did carrie any shew either of probabilitie, or truth, we might question our Apostle, who in his 8. here, and 29. no lesse perswades than proues, that those which God foreknew hee did predestinate to bee *conform'd* to the image of his sonne, and therefore God did not chuse vs, because before election there was a *conformitie* in vs, but because from all eternitie hee did elect vs, in time hee made vs *conform'd* to the image of his Sonne. Whereupon S^t. *Augustine* in his fifth booke *contra Iulianum*, 3. *chapt.* thus; *Nullum elegit dignum, sed eligendo effecit dignum.* God in the choice of his Elect, found none worthy, but in the chusing made them worthy. Moreouer, our election, which is of grace (as I yonder proued) could not stand if workes and merits went before it. *Hec quippè non inuenit merita, sed facit*; Grace doth not finde workes in vs, but fashions them, according to that of the Apostle, 2 *Thes.* 2. 13. *God hath from the beginning chosen you through sanctification of the spirit, and not of works.* Nay, some here so much abolish and wipe off all claime of merit, that they admit not Christ as the *meritorious* cause of our election. Indeed, say they, the Scripture is thus farre our Schoolemaster, That we are *iustified* by the bloud of Christ, and *reconciled* to God by the death of his Sonne: but where are we informed that wee are *elected* through his bloud, or *predestinated* by his death? Indeed, in the 3. of *Iohn* 16. we finde a—*sic Deus dilexit*,—*God so loued the world that he gaue his Sonne.* So that, not because Christ died for vs, God loued, and chose vs, but because God loued and chose vs, therefore Christ died for vs. For so *Rom.* 5. 8. *God setteth out his loue towards vs, that whilst we were yet sinners, Christ died for vs.* In matters therefore of election, wee acknowledge not a cause more classicke than the *Cuius vult* here specified, *Hee will haue mercie on whom hee will.* In so much, that in the parable of the housholder, *Matth.* 20. I finde but a *sic volo*, as a sufficient

Synod. Dort.

ent and iust cause of his designes. I will giue to this last as much as to them; & yet this Will so clothed with a diuine iustice, that God is not said to will a thing to be done, because it is good, but rather to make it good, because God would haue it to be done. For proofe whereof, a sweet singer of our Israel instances in those wonderfull passages of creation, where 'tis first said that *Deus creauit*, God created all things, and the *Valdè bonum* comes aloofe, he saw that they were all good, and the morall portends but this, That euery thing is therefore good, because it was created, and not therefore created because it was good; which doth wash, and purge the will of the Almighty from any staine, or tincture of iniustice; for though that be the chiefe mouer and director of all his proiects, as the prime and peremptory cause, doing this, because he will, yet we finde not onely *sanctitatem in operibus*, but *iustitiam in viis*. *The Lord is righteous in all his wayes, and holy in all his workes.* Hereupon that great treasurer of Learning and Religion, *Zanchius* in his 3. booke *de Natura Dei*, and 4. chapter, diuides betweene the *cause* of Gods will, and the *reason* of his will: That though there be no superiour cause of it, yet there is a iust reason, and a right end and purpose in it. Hence *S. Ierome*, *Deus nihil fecit quia vult, sed quia est ratio sic fieri*; God doth nothing *because he will*, but because there is a *reason* of so doing, in regard whereof it is not simply called θέλημα, the will of God, but εὐδοκία, the good will of God, *Ephes.* 1.11. So that in his sacred resolutions and designements, though wee meet (sometimes) with passages, wound vp in darkened terrour, the cause whereof wee may admire, not scan; yet the drift and maine ends of the Almighty haue been so backt with strength of a iust reason, that we may rather magnifie his goodnesse than tax his power; and applaud the calmnesse of an indulgent mercie, than repine at the lashes of an incensed iustice. Equitie and goodnesse are children of one burden, both

Merl. Clean. Lep.

the

the lawfull itche of his will, which through foule mouthes of libertines haue strangely bastardized, making that the throne of tyranny, which is the rule of iustice, yet let them know that of *Augustine* to his *Sixtus*; *Iniustum esse non potest, quod placuit Iusto.* To be God, and to be vniust, is to be God and not God. So faire a goodnesse, was neuer capable of so foule a contradiction, and therefore (as the same Father prosecutes) *Iniquitatem damnare nouit, non facere:* God knows how to iudge, not to commit a crime, and to dispose, not mould it, and is often the father of the punishment, not the fact. Hence 'tis, that the dimnesse of humane apprehension conceiues that (oftentimes) a delinquency in God, which is the monster of our own frailty, making God not onely to foreknow, but predestinate an euill, when the euill is both by growth, and conception ours, and though some of goodnesse in vs, Gods, not ours, yet ours too, as deriuatiue from God, who is no lesse the Patron of all goodnesse, than the Creatour, and 'tis as truly impossible for him to commit euill, as 'twas truly miraculous to make all that hee had made good. And therefore *Tertullian* in his first booke *de Trinitate*, makes it a *Non potest fieri*, a matter beyond the lift and reach of possibility, that he should be *Artifex malorum operis*, the promoter and enginer of a depraued act, who challengeth to himselfe the title no lesse of an vnblemished Father, than of a Iudge. Our thoughts then should not carry too lofty a saile, but take heed how they cut the narrow straights, and passages of his will. A busie prying into this Arke of secrets, as 'tis accompanied with a full blowne insolence, so with danger; Humility (here) is the first staire to safety; and a modest knowledge stands constantly wondering, whilst the proud apprehension staggers, and tumbles too. Here's a Sea vnnauigable, and a gulfe so scorning fathom, that our Apostle himselfe was driuen to his *ὦ βάθος, O depth*, and in a rapture, more of astonishment, than contemplation, he stiles it, *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θελήμα-*

Ὁ ἀνοῦ, voluntatis suæ mysterium, or (as *Beza* translates it) *Sacramentum*, the Sacrament, and mysterie of his will, being so full of vnknowne turnings, and Meanders, that if a naked reason hold the clue, we are rather inuolued, than guided in so strange a Labyrinth.

To enquire then the cause of Gods will, were an Act of *Lunacie*, not of *Iudgement*; for euery efficient cause is greater than the effect, now there's nothing greater than the will of God, and therefore no cause thereof. For if there were, there should something præoccupate that will, which to conceiue were sinfull, to beleeue blasphemous. If any then (suggested by a vaine-glorious enquirie) should aske why God did elect this man, and not that? we haue not onely to resolue, but to forestall so beaten an obiection: Because hee would. But why would God doe it? Here's a question as guilty of reproofe, as the author, who seekes a cause of that, beyond, or without which there is no cause found, where the apprehension wheeles, and reason runs giddy in a doubtfull gire: *Compescat se ergò humana temeritas, & id quod non est non quærat, ne id quod est non inueniat.* Here a scrupulous and humane rashnesse should be husht, and not search for that which is not, lest it finde not that which is. For as the same Father, in his 105. *Epist.* *Cur illum potiùs, quàm illum, liberet, aut non, scrutetur (qui potest) iudiciorum eius tam magnum profundum, sed caueat præcipitium*—. Let him that can, descry the wonders of the Lord in this great deep, but let him take heed he sinke not; and in his answer to the second question of *Simplician*: *Quare huic ita, & huic non ita, homo tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? & cur isti sic, illi aliter? Absit vt dicamus Iudicium luti esse, sed figuli.* Why God doth to this man so, and to that not so, who dare expostulate? and why to this man, thus, to that, otherwise? sa're be it, that we should thinke it in the iudgement of the clay, but of the potter. Downe then with this aspiring thought, this ambitious desire of hidden

August.

den knowledge, and make not curiositie the picklocke of diuine secrets; know that such mysteries are doubly barred vp in the coffers of the Almighty, which thou maist striue to violate, not open. And therefore if thou wilt needs trespasse vpon deity, dig not in its bosome; a more humble aduenture suites better with the condition of a worme, scarce a man, or if so, exposed to frailtie.

Tis a fit taske and imployment for mortalitie, to contemplate Gods workes, not sift his mysteries, and admire his goodnesse, not blurre his iustice; And it hath beene euer the practice of primitiue discipline, rather to defend a disparaged equitie, than to question it, for so that reuerend Father (who euer mixt his learning with a deuout awe) in his 3 booke, *cont. Iulianum*, and 18 *chapter*, *Bonus est Deus, iustus est Deus, potest aliquos sine bonis meritis liberare, quia bonus est, non potest quemquam sine malis damnare, quia iustus est.* God is equally good and iust, he can saue some without reference to desert, because he is good, he cannot damne any man without a due demerit, because he is iust: Nay had God deliuered all mankinde into the iawes of destruction, we could not touch him with iniustice, but rather admire so darke and inuestigable an equitie, which we may illustrate by worldly passages, and humane contracts. If I were bankrupt of substance, S. *Augustine* could relieue me. A great man (saith he) lends two summes of money, to two seuerall men, who can tax him of obduratenesse, or iniustice, if at time of repayment he forgiue this man his debt, and require satisfaction of that? for this lies not in the will and disposall of the debtor, but of the creditor. So stands the case betweene frailty and omnipotencie. All men (which through *Adam* become tributaries to sin and death) are one masse of corruption, subiect to the stroake of diuine iustice, which, whether it be required or giuen, there is no iniquitie in God, but of whom required, and to whom giuen, 'tis in such debtors insolence to iudge,

lest God returne their saucinesse with a —*Non licet mihi quod volo facere?* as the housholder did the murmuring labourers in his vineyard. Is thine eie euill, because I am good? And indeed it displayes not a higher cause of election and reprobation than diuine goodnesse, which that learned Schoole-man, *Part. 1. quæst. 23. art. 5.* doth not onely illustrate, but proue no lesse by similitude than argument. For God (saith he) made all things for his goodnesse sake, that in things by him made, his goodnesse might appeare, but because that goodnesse is in it selfe, one, and simple, and things created cannot attaine to so diuine a perfection, it was necessary that that goodnesse should be diuersly represented in those things, and hence 'tis that to the complement and full glory of the vniuerse, there is in them a diuersitie of degrees required, of which some possesse a lower, and some a higher roome, and that such a multiformitie may be preserued in nature, God permits some euils to be done, lest much good should be anticipated: —*Voluit itaque Deus in hominibus, quantum ad aliquos, quos prædestinat, suam repræsentare bonitatem, per modum misericordiæ, parcendo illis, quantum verò ad alios, quos reprobat, suam ostendi bonitatem per modum iustitiæ, puniendo eos.* God in those hee elects, would shew his goodnesse by way of mercie in sparing these, in others he reprobates, his goodnesse too, by way of iustice in punishing them. And therefore our Apostle here not onely magnifies the riches of his glory vpon vessels of mercie, *vers.* 23. but his long patience too, to vessels of wrath, *vers.* 22. So that in his house there are not onely those of gold and siluer, but of wood and earth too, *and some to honor, some to dishonor, 2 Tim. 2. 20.* Of wch if any mutinous or saucy ignorance desires a reason beyond Gods will, I haue no answer but that of *Augustine*, in his 32. Sermon *de verb. Apost. Tu ratiocinare, ego mirer, tu disputa, ego credam: altitudinem video, ad profundum non peruenio*, Dispute and reason he that durst,

while my thought and beleefe ſtand at a bay, and wonder; I ſee there is a height, but cannot reach it, and know this gulfe, not fathome it. For as in things naturall (it is *Aquinas* ſimilitude) when all the firſt matter is vniforme, why one part of it ſhould be vnder the forme of fire, another vnder the forme of earth, there may be a reaſon aſſigned, that there might be a diuerſity of *ſpecies* in things naturall: but why this part of matter ſhould be rather vnder the forme of fire, and that vnder the forme of earth, depends only on the ſimplicity of Gods will; & as it hangs too on the wil of the Architect, that this ſtone ſhould be rather in this part of the wall, and that in another, although reaſon and art require that other ſtones ſhould be in one part of the Edifice, & others in another. Neither is there for this iniquity in God, that he doth not proportion his gifts in a ſtrict equality, for it were againſt the reaſon and truth of iuſtice, if the effect of Predeſtination ſhould be of debt, and not of grace; for in thoſe things which are of an vnreſtrained freedome, enery man (out of the iuriſdiction of his owne will) may giue to whom he will, more or leſſe, without the leaſt diſparagement of iuſtice: And therefore to thoſe recoiling diſpoſitions, wch murter at a free bounty heaped on others, without refer̄ce to deſert, I will vſurpe that of the Parable, *Tolle quod tuum eſt, & vade.* And yet notwithſtanding, though the will of God be the independent prime cauſe of all things, ſo that beyond it there is no other cauſe, and without it there is no reaſon of Gods actions; yet it is not the ſole and particular cauſe, for there are many ſecondary concurring with the firſt, by the mediation whereof, the will of God brings his intendments to an iſſue. As in matters of our ſaluation the will and working of man ſhakes hands with that of God, for though without him we finde a *Nil poteſtis facere*, *Ioh.* 15 5. Ye can doe nothing; yet aſſiſted by his will, and the powerfull and effectuall operations of his grace, our will co-

operates with Gods. Else how could *Dauid* pray to him to be his helper, vnlesse he himselfe did endeuour something? or how could God command vs to doe his will, except the will of man did worke in the performance of it? It is true (saith *S. Augustine*) we finde a *Deus operatur omnia in omnibus*, but we no where finde a *Deus credit omnia in omnibus*. *Nostrum vt aque est credere, & velle, illius autem dare credentibus, & volentibus facultatem operandi*: To will, and to beleeue is ours, but to giue the faculty of operation to them that will & beleeue, is Gods. *I haue laboured more than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God with me*, 1. *Cor.* 15. 10. Why God therefore doth saue some men, there is more to be alleaged than this, God would haue them to be saued; for if this laurell doe beautifie our triumph we must encounter, hee that will haue this Crowne must tug for it, and this prize, must wrestle, *Qui creauit te sine te, non saluat te sine te.* He that hath created thee without thy selfe, will not saue thee without thy selfe. And therefore those whom God from all eternity hath destined to saluation, hee hath in a like priuiledge destined to the meanes: But why those meanes, not communicable to all, many a busie endeuour hath strugled for a reason, not compast it. Out of more than a double Iurie of Interpreters, which I haue (not with a little distraction) obserued, waning here in doubtfull opinion, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* giues thus his verdict. Gods grace is indifferently exhibited to all men, to the elect and reprobate, but all doe not equally lay hold on it. Some no lesse neglect, than repulse Gods grace, and when its comfortable beames shall shine vpon them, they shut their eies against it, and will not behold it, and God in iustice with-drawes his grace from these men, because they with-draw themselues from his grace. *Est enim in gratiâ quemadmodum in solis radio* (saith he) There is a proportion betwixt the raies of the Sunne, and the eie, and betwixt the soule of man, and the

Lumb. lib. 1. distinct. 42.

the grace of God. The eie is ordained by nature to be the organ of the sight, and yet the eye cannot see except the Sunne enlighten it; neither can the Sunne make any thing else see but the eye in man, for it may shine vpon our hand or foot, neuertheleſſe the hand or foot shall see nothing: so the ſoule hath a possibility to merit by her naturall abilities, but that possibility shall be vaine and fruitleſſe, vnleſſe it be quickened by the powerfull operation of Gods grace, which grace, if it shall once actuate it, then the ſoule will be able to attaine to that double life of grace here, of glory hereafter. *Vnde totum est ex gratiâ, sic tamen vt non excludatur meritum.* Whence he would haue all to hang on grace, yet so that we exclude not merit. But this inference is many stories aboue my reach, and in the greenneſſe of my iudgement, there is little truth in the conſequence, and palpable contradiction in the conſequent. For how can the merits of man challenge any thing, if all flow from the grace of God? Yes (saith *Hugo*) euen as a weake child which cannot yet goe alone, should be led by the Nurſe, a man cannot say that the childe goeth of himſelfe, but by the aſſiſtance of the Nurſe; and yet the Nurſe could not make the childe goe, vnleſſe he were naturally inclinde to that motion: so the ſoule of man is said to merit by the aid of grace, and by her owne naturall inbred ability, but all the glory of the merit must be ascribed to God, because the ſoule can doe nothing without the ſupport and grace of God. Whence I can gather no truth but this, that in *solo homine sit potentia logica ad salutē*, That a man only may be saued without apparant contradiction; no vnreaſonable creature is capable of that euerlasting bleſſednesse and beatificall viſion; and the ſoule of a beast is no more able to see God, than a ſenſeleſſe ſtocke to behold a viſible obiect. For man onely hath a paſſiue power to ſaluation, and man before his conuerſion hath a paſſiue power onely. And therefore the ſimilies afore propoſed, if they be referred

referred to the soule before the conuersion, are false, and beare no proportion, for then the soule is starke blinde, and dead in trespasses, and cannot looke on the grace offered, or moue one iot in the course of Christianity: But after the conuersiō when God speaks *Ephata* to the soule, he opened, when the vnderstanding is illuminated, and scales of errour once drop from the eyes, then it may hold some correspondency with truth. As therefore in matters of our conuersion, so of election too, all hangs on Grace, and this grace in a holy reseruation limited to a narrow Tribe, for the *cuius vult* here insinuates no more, and *He will haue mercy on whom he will*, sounds in a direct æquiualence with this, *He will haue mercy* onely on some; of which some there is a definite and set number, vncapable of augmentation, or diminution, howeuer those new sprung Sectaries, out of a turbulent brain and thirst of cauillation, blaspheme the eternity of Gods decree, making our election mutable, incompleat, conditionate, subiect to change and reuocation, and what other stranger birth and prodigie of opinion, which I conceiue not without a holy impatience and indignation. And whereas our Fathers of old haue maintained, euen to the sword and faggot, the decree of election to be no lesse eternall than irreuocable, these would faine lull our beleefe with innouation of vpstart discipline, altering no lesse the number than the condition of the elect into the state of reprobate, and of the reprobate into the elect. And (as the Deuill did to Christ) they vrge Text and reason for it. For God (say they) cannot giue grace to whom he doth giue grace, which if hee should doe, an elect may be damned; and hee can giue grace to him he doth not giue grace too, which if he doe, a reprobate may be saued, and so a reprobate may become an elect, and an elect a reprobate. Thus they shoot by an indirect aime, and saile by a wrong Compasse, for wee enquire not here of Gods power, but of his will, not what

Arminians.

he

he can doe, but what he hath resolued to doe. Againe, it seemes no consequence, God can saue or damne a man, therefore this man can bee saued or damned, *Non enim posse Dei sequitur posse nostrum*, Gods power stands not in relation to ours; as if God would otherwise redeeme mankinde than by the death of his Sonne. (As there was another meanes possible (saith *Austin*) but not more conuenient.) That therefore mankinde could otherwise be redeemed; and if God had this in his power, that it should be therefore in mans too? Could not God (if he would) haue saued *Iudas*? doth it therefore follow that *Iudas* could be saued? No, for though this bee too ragged and stonie for a popular capacitie to digge thorow; yet if wee looke backe a little into the mysteries of Gods decree, wee shall finde that which will no lesse releeue our vnderstanding, than remoue our scruple; where things from euerlasting haue such a doome, which is not malleable either by change or reuocation, *For the Lord of hosts hath determined, and who can disanull it? and his hand is stretched out, and who can turne it away? Esay* 14. 27. Seeing then that election is from eternitie, and that not obnoxious to mutabilitie or corruption, we neither curtaile the elect of their primatiue glory, nor of their number. Which though they bee a little flocke, (in respect of that herd and large droue of the damned) yet in those sacred volumes of Gods diuiner Oracles, we finde them numberlesse. So *Apoc.* 7. 9. *These things I beheld, and loe, a great multitude which none could number of all nations, and kinreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lambe, cloathed with long white robes, and palmes in their hands.* Whence those Factors for the Romish See, would hew out a way to vniuersall grace; making our election *generall*, *manifold*, *indefinite*, and would haue Christs death no lesse *meritorious*, than *propitiatorie* for the sinnes of the whole world. A *quære* long since on foot betweene *Augustine*

Hugo de Sancto Victore in cap. 9. ad Rom.

and *Pelagius*, and since in a fiery skirmish betweene the Caluinist and the Lutheran, out of whose mud and corruption there hath beene lately bred the Arminian, a Sect as poysonous as subtill, and will no lesse allure than betray a flexible and yeelding iudgement. For our own safety then, and the easier oppugning of so dangerous a suggestion, let vs examine a little of the extent & bounds of this grace, which Diuines cut into these three squadrons, in *Gratiam Prædestinationis, vocationis, & iustificationis*. *Gratia Prædestinationis*, is that of eternity, the wombe and Nursery of all graces, whereby God loued his elect, πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων. *Gratia vocationis*, a secondary grace, by which God calls vs, & by calling prescribes the meanes of our saluation. And this grace hath a double prospect; Either to that which is externall, *in libro Scripturæ*, or *creaturæ*, where God did manifest himselfe as well by what he had made, as by what he had written; or to that which is internall, of illumination, or renouation, of that in the intellect only, which a reprobate may lay claime to, of this in the heart, which by a holy reseruation and incommunicablenesse is peculiar to the elect. *Gratia iustificationis*, which is not a grace inherent, but bestowed, and stands as a direct Antipode to humane merit. Yet not that χάρισμα which the Schooles christen with a *gratia gratis data*, any gift which God out of his free bounty hath bestowed vpon vs beyond our desert, as Prudence, Temperance, and the like; for in these the heathen had their share, whose singular endowments haue made posterity both an admirer, and a debter; but χάρις, *Gratia gratum faciens*, a gift perfect, and sanctified, which doth so qualifie the receiuer, that hee is not onely acceptable, but glorious in the eyes of the bestower, as Faith, Hope, and the third sister Charity, which no lesse reconcile than iustifie vs before God.

We conclude then, that the externall grace which the creature affordeth vs, is not limited to a priuate number,

but

but to all; yet we denie the power and vertue of saluation in it. We allow a sufficiencie of redargution for conuicting the heathen, who when they knew God, worshipped him not as God, & therefore are both desperate and inexcusable. Moreover the grace which the Scripture affordeth vs, as it is not vniuersall, so not of absolute sufficiency for saluation, but onely in *genere mediorum externorum*, (as the Schooles speake) because it doth prescribe vs the meanes how we may be saued, but it doth not apply the meanes that we are saued. Againe, that grace of Illumination is more peculiarly confined, and if by the beames of that glorious Sunne which enlightneth euery man that comes into the world, we attaine to the knowledge of the Scripture, yet the bare knowledge doth not saue vs, but the application. But the grace of regeneration is not onely a sufficient, but an effectuall grace, and as 'tis more powerfull, so 'tis more restrained; they onely partake of this blessednes, whom God hath no lesse enlightned, than sanctified, and pointed out, then sealed, men inuested in white robes of sinceritie, whose delinquēcies, though sometimes of a deepe tincture, are now both dispenst with, & obliterated, not because they were not sinfull, but because, not imputed: so inuolucrous, and hidden are Gods eternall proiects, that in those he relinquisheth, or saues, his reason, is his will; yet that as farre disioasted from tyranny, as iniustice. The *Quare* we may contemplate, not scan, lest our misprision grow equall with our wonder. And here in a double ambush dangerously lurke the Romanist and the Arminian, men equally swolne with rancor of malice, and position: and with no lesse violence of reason, than importunitie, presse the vertue of Christs death for the whole world. Alas! we combat not of the price and worth of Christs death, but acknowledge That an able ransome of a thousand worlds; but the ground of our duell tends to this, whether Christ dying proposed to himselfe the

saluation of the whole world. We distinguish then —*inter meritum Christi, & gratiam Christi.* The merits of Christ and the gracious application of those merits. His merits are able to allay the fury of his incensed Father, & reconcile vnto him the very reprobates: but the application of those merits are restrained to the Elect, for they onely are capeable of so great a blessednesse. For proofe whereof we haue not only that venerable Bench and Councell of Fathers & Schoole-men, but also a higher court of Parliament to appeale vnto, the Registers and penmen of sacred Chronicles, Euangelists, & Apostles, wch punctually insinuate Christs death onely for his own, for his Church, for his Brethren, for those whose head hee was, laying down his life for some, and shedding his blood for some, for his sheepe, his little flock, his peculiar Priesthood, his tabernacle, body, spouse, his Canaan, Sion, Ierusalem, his Ambassadors, Saints, Angels, in a word this *Cuius vult*, The Elect. I'le not beat your eares with a voluminous citation of text and Fathers, I'le draw only one shaft out of this holy quiuer, and direct it to the Roman aduersary, wch if he shall repell or put by, I'le proclaime hereafter a perpetuall truce. The maine and chiefe cause that impeld Christ to die, was his loue, *Iohn.* 15. But Christ loued not all, but his own, *Eph.* 5. Therefore Christ died not for all, but for his owne. The Iesuite here retraicts, and we haue none now left to encounter vs but the Arminian; who (like a cunning Fencer) hath many a quaint flourish, and with a false blow sometimes staggers, not wounds his aduersary. The part most indangered, is the eie of our Intellect, and iudgement which he thus dazzels with a subtile nicety. That Christ hath obtained reconciliation for all, for *Saul* and *Iudas*, but not as they were reprobates, but as they were sinners; For God (saith he) did equally intend, and desire the saluation of all; and the reason why they were not saued was their incredulitie, and misapplying of this gracious reconciliation and attonement.

Moulin in his Anatomy of Arminianisme.

Thus

Thus they would betray weaknesse into the hands of errour; and for a fairer glosse, and gilding of this their treachery, they distinguish —*inter Impetrationem, & applicationem*; Pretending that Christ did impetrate reconciliation for all, but the application of that leanes wholly to the elect. How crazy and ill tempered this position is, wee'le declare briefly. First, wee deny that Christ by his death hath impetrated reconciliation for all, for *Saul* or *Iudas*: Neither can our thought, much lesse our beleefe giue way to so strange a Paradox, That remission of sinnes is obtained for those whose sinnes are not remitted, or that saluation was purchased for those whom God from all eternity had decreed to condemne. Againe, we acknowledge Christs death sufficient for all, all beleeuers, nay all, if they did beleeue. But that *Saul* or *Iudas* or the residue of that cursed Hierarchy should reap the benefit of his Passion, we vtterly disclaime as erronious and hereticall. For if Christ by his death hath reconciled *Iudas*, how i'st that *Iudas* suffers for his sinnes? for we cannot without impeachment both of his mercy, and iustice too, say that Christ suffered for *Iudas* his sins, yet *Iudas* is damned for those sinnes; And since Christ as he is God, hath from eutrlasting destined *Iudas* to damnation, how i'st that the same Christ, as he is man, & mediator betweene God and man, should reconcile *Iudas*, whom from eternity he had reprobated? Againe, if Christ hath obtained reconciliation for all men, then none shall be borne without the couenant of Christ, so that of the Apostle will be false: That, *By nature we are all borne the children of wrath, Ephes.* 2. And can we truely be stiled the children of wrath, if reconciliation be obtained for all men without exception? And if all infants borne without the couenant are reconciled, *Cur non clementi crudelitate in cunis ingulamus?* (saith the learned *Moulin*) why doe we not in a mercifull cruelty murther them in their cradles? for then their saluation were sea-

Idem ibidem.

led; but if they saruiue, they are nouriſhed in Paganiſme, infidelitie, which are the beaten roades & highwayes to deſtruction. And if we ſcan (ſaith he) the nicety of theſe words, the obtaining of reconciliation to be applied, and the application of reconciliation obtained, we ſhall finde it a meere curioſitie to harrow and perplex the braine, and torture the vnderſtanding, ſince Chriſt hath neuer obtained that which he hath not applied, neither hath he applied that which he hath not obtained. Yet theſe men either of a head-ſtrong opinion, or learned madneſſe, are ſo violent in the proſecution of their tenents, that no ſtrength of anſwer will ſatisfie their obiection, nor modeſtie of language ſuppreſſe their clamour, but a foule mouthed *Forſterus* will bray out his witty ſpleene with an —*Error & furor Zuinglianorum*. His reaſons are as ſlender as they are many (the vertigoes and impoſtures of a giddie braine) fitter for ſilence, than rehearſall, and for ſcorne than confutation. Wee apply then; Is grace vniuerſally bountifull, and mercy open-breſted vnto all? What meane then thoſe Epithites of outcaſt, curſed, damned, and that triple inſcription of death, hell, and damnation? are they either of policie or truth? Are they things reall, or fancied onely to bugbeare and awe mortalitie? What would the Throne portend? Iudge, aduerſarie, Sergeant, priſon, or thoſe horrid tones of worme, fire, brimſtone, howling, gnaſhing? Is the Scripture the Anuill of vntruth, or are theſe things no more than faigned and imaginary? What will thoſe flames of your threatned purgatory proue at laſt, but the Chimæra and coinage of a phantaſticke braine? And a 500. yeares indulgence, but the ſharke and legerdemaine of your Lord God the Pope? Either your opinion is ſandy, or your priſon, both which muſt fleet with your holy Fathers honour, if the armes of mercie be expanded to all. Againe, are the merits of Chriſt appliable to all? Sweare, whore, drinke, prophane, blaſpheme, &(if there be

be in that Alcharon, and curſed rolle, a ſinne of a fairer growth) baffle the Almighty at his face. Thinkeſt thou that heauen was euer guilty of ſuch treaſon againſt her Soueraigne? or that it will euer entertaine a gueſt ſo expoſed to the height of diſſolúteneſſe and debauſhment? No, thou muſt know that one day there will be a dreadfull ſummons, either at thoſe particular accounts, at the houre of death, or at the generall audit of the laſt trumpe, when thou ſhalt meet with a new Acheldema and vale of Hinnom, places no leſſe of terror than of torment, the fiery dungeon, and the burning Tophet, where the fury of the great Iudge reaks in a floud of brimſtone, and his reuenge boiles in a fiery torrent, limitleſſe, and vnquenchable. On the other ſide happily maiſt thou ſlumber, without howle, or skreeke of conſcience, thou wounded and deiected ſpirit; Thou whoſe glorious ornaments are but ſackcloth and aſhes, and thy choiſeſt fare but the bread of ſorrow and contrition. Know there is balme of Gilead for the broken-hearted ſinner, and oyle of comfort for thoſe which mourne in Sion. Behold how thy Sauiour comes flying downe with the wings of his loue, and ſweepes away thy ſinnes that they ſhall neither temporally ſhame thee, nor eternally condemne thee: Who ſhall wipe off all teares from your eyes, and lodge you in the boſome of old *Abraham*, where there is bliſſe vnſpeakable for euer. And thus I haue ſhewed you the happineſſe of ſheepe vnder the ſtate of mercy; Time bids me now to reflect on the miſery of Goats, as they are vnder the condition of hardening.

PART.

Part. II.

He hardeneth.

WHat? hee that is rich in goodnesse, and his mercies aboue all his workes? he that mournes in secret for our offences, and vowes that he desireth not the death of a sinner, will hee harden? How can this stand either with his promise, or mercie, or iustice? Gods vnreuealed proiects are full of wonder, which if our apprehension cannot diue to, our beleefes must sound. *Occulta esse possunt, iniusta non possunt*, fraught they may bee with sullen and darker riddles, neuer with iniustice. Let vs first then take a surucy of Mans heart, and see to what miseries the hardnesse of it hath exposde our irregular predecessors, and after try whether we can make prouidence the mother of so deformed an issue. And here a while let vs obserue S. *Bernard* tutoring his *Eugenius*, *Cor durum*, a heart, which the softer temper of Gods working spirit leaues to mollifie, and its owne corrupt affections begins once to mould. Like that of *Nabal*, to bee all stone, becomes at last so cauterized, *Vt semetipsum non exhorreat quia nec sentit*, that it is so far from starting at its owne vglinesse, that it is non-sensible of deformitie. And hence *Theodoret* defines it to be *prauum animi affectionem*, a corrupt and depraued affection of the minde, which if man once giues way to, hee is so screen'd both from Gods mercie and truth, that though it bee about him, and in the masterdome and dominion of his best sense, *Non cernit tamen, nec intelligit*, yet his eyes are as blinde intelligencers to beleeue, as his vnderstanding. And against such that sweet Singer of *Israel* breakes out into his passionate complaint, *Vsquè quò filij hominum, vsquè quò?* O yee sonnes of men, how long will yee turne my honour into shame, how long? and that of the Protomartyr

tomartyr *Stephen*, in his Oration to the refractary Iewes. *Durâ cervice*, O ye stiffe-necked and vncircumcised of heart and eares, yee doe alwaies resist the holy Ghost. And indeed such hearts are but the Wardrobes and Exchequers of future mischiefe, whose keyes are not in the custody of the Almighty, but thine owne bosome. For so that great Doctor of the Gentiles, *Secundùm impœnitens cor tuum thesaurisas iram*: According to the impenitency of thine owne heart, *thou treasurest vp wrath* (to thy selfe) *against the day of wrath*. How then can that eye which should be fixed either on the tendernesse or mercy of his Creator, glance so much on his iniustice, as to make that the Midwife of so foule a progenie? Obduration was neuer the childe of goodnesse, neither can a sinne of so base a descent lay claime to omnipotencie. It stands not (I dare say) with Gods power, I am sure, his will, to reconcile two enemies in such an extremity of opposition. Doe sweet water and puddle flow immedialy from one and the selfe-same spring? light and darknesse from the selfe-same Sunne? I know there is a stiffe-necked and blind-fold Tribe, which God hath left, not made the story of his vengeance; whose affections are too dull and drowsie in his seruice. Men crest-fallen in deuotion, whose hearts are so dead in their allegeance to him, that they seeme spiritlesse, hauing all the powers and faculties of their soule benummed, and their conscience without pulse or motion. And of these the Prophet, *Incrassatum est cor populi, Their heart is as fat as brawne*. These sticke not to belch open defiance in the face of the Almighty, and with those Miscreants in *Iob*, are ready to expostulate with eternity, *Quis est omnipotens vt seruiemus ei? Who is the Lord that we should serue him?* Such haue foreheads of brasse, which no shame can bore thorow: and (as the Prophet spake of *Iuda*) *a face of whoredome which refuseth modesty*. But Saint *Gregory* in his 10. *Homily* vpon *Ezechiel*, hath proclaimed their

doome. *Frontem cordis in impudentiam aperit culpa frequens, vt quo crebrius committitur, eò minus de illa committentis animus verecundetur:* Frequency of sinning doth flesh vs in immodesty, assiduity, in impudence. Offences that are customarie are not easie of dimission, and if thou once entertaine them as thy followers, they will quickly intrude as thy companions. Sinnes that are fed with delight, with vse, are as dangerous as those of Appetite: which oftentimes proue no lesse inseparable, than hereditary; to doe well is as impossible to these, as not to doe ill; So can assiduity make a sinne both delightfull, and naturall. *Can the Æthiop change his skinne, and the Leopard his spots? then may yee also doe well which are accustomed to doe euill.* That sinne then is irrazable which is so steeled with custome, and may vndergoe the censure of that sometime Citie of God; *Insanabilis est dolor tuus:* Thy sinne is written with a pen of iron, and with a claw of a Diamond is engrauen on the table of thy heart. How then can wee without sacriledge, and robbing of diuine honour, make God the Father of so foule and vnwashed a crime? Obduration is the issue of thine owne transgression. *Perditio tua ex te, ô Israel:* If destruction dog thee, thanke thy corrupt affections, not blame thy Maker, for he doth but leaue thee, and they harden. To lay then (with some depraued libertines) the weight and burden of our sinnes on the shoulder of Predestination, and make that the wombe of those foule enormities, may well passe for an infirmity, not for excuse, and indeed thus to shuffle with diuine goodnesse, is no lesse fearefull, than blasphemous. For, though God from eternity knew how to reward euery man, either by crown, or punishmẽt, —*Nemini tamen aut necessitatẽ, aut voluntatem intulit delinquendi*, yet he neuer enioined any man either a necessity, or a will to sinne. If any then fall off from goodnesse, hee is hurried no lesse with the violence of his owne perswasion than concupiscence? and

in

in those desperate affaites, Gods will is neither an intermedler, nor compartner, *Cuius ope scimus multos, ne laberentur, retentos, nullos, vt laberentur, impulsos* (saith *Augustine.*) By whose hand of prouidence wee know many to be supported that they might not fall, none impeld that they should. And in his answer to that 14. Article falsly supposed to be his, *Fieri non potest, vt per quem à peccatis surgitur, per eum ad peccata decidatur*: for one and the selfe-same goodnesse, to be the life and death of the selfe-same sinne, is so much beyond improbability, that it is impossible. If any then goe onward in the true rode of diuine graces, no doubt but the finger of the Almighty points out his way to happinesse; but if he wander in the by-paths of a vicious and depraued dissolutenesse, his owne corrupt affections beckens him to ruine. To loue then his children, and neglect his enemies, doth neither impaire Gods mercy, nor impeach his iustice. But why God should loue this as his child, neglect that as his enemy, *Nec possibile est comprehendere, nec licitum inuestigare*—, is beyond all lawfulnesse of enquiry, all ken of apprehension. Let this then satisfie our desire of knowledge, *Et ab illo esse, quod statur, & non esse ab illo, quod ruitur*: That his prouidence is the staffe and crutch on which we so leane that we yet stand; our corrupt affections, the bruzed and broken reed on which, if wee doe leane, we fall. If any stagger at those vnfathomed mysteries, and his reason and apprehension be strucke dead at the contemplation of Gods eternall, but hidden proiects, let him season a little his amazement with adoration, and at last solace his distempered thoughts with that of *Gregory*, *Qui in factis Dei, &c.* In the abstruse and darker mysteries of God, he that sees not a reason, if he sees his owne infirmity, he sees a sufficient reason why he should not see. Me thinkes this should cloy the appetite of a greedy inquisition, and satisfie the distrust of any, but of too querulous a disposition, which, with the

eye of curiositie prying too nicely into the closet of Gods secrets, are no lesse dazeled than blinded; if not with profanation, heresie. Diuine secrets should rather transport vs with wonder, than prompt vs to inquiry, and bring vs on our knees to acknowledge the infiniteness both of Gods power and will, than ransacke the bosome of the Almighty, for the reuealing of his intents. Is it not blessednesse enough that God hath made thee his Steward, though not his Secretarie? Will no Mansion in heauen content thee, but that which is the throne and chaire for omnipotency to sit on? No treasury, but that which is the Cabinet and store-house of his own secrets? Worme, and no man, take heed how thou struglest with thy Maker; expostulation with God imports no lesse peremptorinesse, than danger; and if Angels fell for pride of emulation, where wilt thou tumble for this pride of inquiry? As in matters therefore of vnusuall doubt, where truth hath no verdict, probability finds audience; So in those obstruct and narrow passages of his will, where reason cannot informe thee, beleefe is thy best intelligencer, and if that want a tongue, make this thy interpreter; so thou maist euade with lesse distrust, I am sure, with more safety.

And at last when thou hast scan'd all, what either scruple or inquisition can prompt thee to, in a deiected humiliation, thou must cry out with that Iewish penitent; *Lord I beleeue, helpe thou my vnbeleefe.* Yea, but how shall we here cleare God from this aspersion, when the Apostle is the Herauld to his guilt? *whom he will he hardens: Induras* is an actiue, and doth alwayes presuppose a passiue; And if there be a subiect that must suffer, there must be a hand too that must inflict. How then can we quit the Almighty of the suspicion either of tyranny or iniustice, since he is said to send on some *the spirit of errour*, 2 *Thess.* 2. and that great Trumpet of Gods displeasure, *Esay* in his 63. brings in the Iewes, no lesse muttering

tering than expostulating with God, *Quare errare nos fecisti Domine? Lord, why hast thou made vs to erre from thy wayes, and hardened our hearts from thy feare?* These instances (at the first survey,) beare terrour in their looks, and like sophisticated lights in a darke roome, make things seeme more vgly than they are; and are but false bils, preferred against a spotlesse innocent, which, without search, may convince of publike crime, but narrowly scan'd, absolue him, no lesse from the act, than the thought of guilt. How God therefore in this is liable to censure and misprision, and how both a beholder, and intermedler of depraued actions; vouchsafe mee a little your attentiue patience, and I doubt not, but I shall informe the vnderstanding of the shallow, and to the portion of my weake Talent, will striue to satisfie the waueringly iudicious. *Whom he will he hardens.* Some (too nicely tender of the honour of their maker) haue giuen way to an interpretation more modest, than authenticke, and interpret —*indurare*— for *duritiam manifestare*, so that God is not properly said to harden the heart, but rather to manifest how hard it is; And to this opinion Saint *Augustine* is a close adherent in his 18. Question vpon *Exodus*. But this holds not with the purpose of God, nor with the scope and meaning of the Text, which if we compare with others of that nature, wee shall finde that Gods *will* hath rather a finger in this, than his promulgation: for so in the 10. of *Iosua* we reade, that 'twas the *will* and the sentence of the Almighty, that the Canaanites should be hardened, that they might deserue no mercy, but perish. Others there are (whose opinions border neerer vpon truth) which would haue God to be said to harden —*non effectiuè, sed permissiuè*; Not by way of action, but permission; and so *Damascen* in his third booke *de fide Orthodoxâ, cap.* 20. where his words run thus: *Opera pretium est agnoscere*—. 'Tis a matter no lesse worthy of knowledge, than obseruance, that 'tis the

custome of the Scripture to call Gods permission, his action. So we reade that God sent his enemies the spirit of slumber, which is not to bee ascribed to God as an agent, but as a permitter. This glosse sutes well with the approbation of Saint *Chrysostome*; who speaking occasionally of that of the first of the *Romanes*, *Deus tradidit illos*—God gaue them vp vnto vile affections, hee there expounds—*tradidit*, by *permisit*, which he thus illustrates by a similitude—; As the Generall of an Armie, in the sweat and brunt of a bloudy day, if he withdraw his personall directions from his souldiers, what doth hee but expose them to the mercie of their enemies? not that he led them into the iawes of danger, but because they were not back't by his encouragement: So God in this spirituall conflict, he deliuers vs not into the hands of our arch-enemie, he leaues vs to our owne strength, and our corrupt affections drag vs thither with a witnesse. And hence that dicotomie of *Caietan* claimes his prerogatiue, that God doth harden *Negatiuely*, but not *Positiuely*, wch distinction though it be sound and Orthodox, yet it doth not exempt vs from scruple, for God hath more in the stiffenecke and peruerse, than a naked and bare permission, otherwise we should too weakly distance obduration from a lesser sinne, for euerie sinne God permits, and as Saint *Augustine* in his *Enchir. 96. cap. Nihil fit nisi omnipotens fieri velit, vel sinendo vt fiat, vel ipse faciendo.* There's nothing done without the consent and approbation of the Almightie, and that either by his person or substitute. If God therfore be only said to harden man because he permits him to be hardened, why should he not be likewise said to steale, because he permits man to steale? No doubt therefore but God hath a greater ore in this sin of hardening, than in offences of a lesser bulke. And therefore Saint *Augustine* in his 3. *lib. cont. Iulianum*, 3. *cap.* with many a sinewed allegation proues, that God doth concurre to the excæcation and hardening both of the

the minde and heart, —*Non solum, secundum patientiam, & permissionem, sed potentiam, & actionem.* Not according to his patience and permission onely, but his power and action: Which position hee thus (after) qualifies with a distinction. *Obduration* is not onely a *sinne*; but a *punishment* of a sinne. Now, that which is in obduration meerely of sinne hath it's pedegree and originall from man onely; but that which is of punishment for that sinne, from God. And therefore I cannot but approue of that of *Isiodore*, *Qui insti sunt, à Deo non impelluntur, vt mali fiant, sed dùm mali iam sunt, indurantur, vt deteriores existant*, —According to that of *Paul*, 2 *Thes.* 2. For this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they might beleeue a lie, that all might be damned that beleeue not the truth, but haue pleasure in vnrighteousnesse. I haue as yet but toucht the barke and skinne of the controuersie, the pith and the kernell is yet vnchewed, and that is, —*Whether God here (as hee is said to harden) be the cause of our transgressions.* Which *quære* admits a three-fold distraction, and difference of opinion. Two of them are extremes, and by hot opposition each of other, they haue both lost the truth, the third runnes in a midway, and euer directs to safety. *Florinus* (whose opinion posterity records as the monument of a seduced errour) with no lesse peremptorinesse than blasphemy hath arraigned the Almighty, and made him not onely the permitter, but the Author of our sins. The *Seleuciani*, after him, were poisoned with that heresie, & the *Libertines* laboured in the defēce thereof. *Manes*, and his disciples, dreampt of a *summum malum*, and vpon that phantasie grounded their assertion, that God the *summum bonum*, is to be seene only in our good actions, but euery depraued Act had its deriuation from their *summum malum*. But those of a more solid and well tempered iudgement, whom the influence of the Spirit had taught a moderatiō, or the danger of Inquisition forbad

bad curiositie, dare not with *Florinus* impute (here) sinne vnto God, yet maintaine against the *Manichees*, that God is not a bare and idle spectator; but powerfull ouer, although no actor in the sinne, Not in the sinne, as it is meerely a sinne, but in the sinne as 'tis a punishment of sinne. And therefore in euery transgression of ours, there are foure things remarkable, 1 *Subiectum, seu materiale*, the subiect in which sinne subsists, and that is two-fold; 1 *Substantia*, the substance, or rather the faculties of the reasonable soule, in which originall sinne is so riueted, that the naturall man can by no meanes purge himselfe of that hereditary contagion, or *Actio bona*, on which all our actuall sinnes are grounded. 2 *Formale*, the formalitie, or obliquity of the action. For euery sinne is *ανομία*, the transgression of the Law, and in the sinner there's nothing sinne but this. 3 *Reatus*, The guilt of this enormity, which makes vs liable to eternall death. 4 *Pœna*, the punishment inflicted vpon the guilty, whether temporall, or eternall, or both. Now wee may not charge God with the obliquity of the action, for that proceeds from a peruerse, and a seduced will, but the substance of the action (as the Schoolemen speake) that hath its originall from God. And therefore wee consider sinne, either *vt malum culpæ*, as 'tis a violation of Gods law, or *vt malum pœnæ*, as a punishment laid vpon vs for the violation of that Law: So *Rom.* 1. 25. *The Gentiles turned the truth of God into a lie*, There's *malum culpæ*. And it follows immediatly at the 26. *verse*, For this cause God gaue them vp into vile affections, There's *malum pœnæ*. Now God is author of the second, not the first. If mists still hang on the eyes of clouded errour, I thus dispell them with that of *Hugo de Sancto Victore*— *Deus malis potestatem solam tribuit, non voluntatem, quia licet ex ipsius permissione sit, quod malum possunt, ex inspiratione tamen non est quod malum volunt.* God onely giues power to the wicked, not will, that although it be by his permission

that

that wee can doe euill, yet it is not by his inspiration that we will doe euill. And therefore as the Schooles doe commonly distinguish of the decree of God, so must wee of the execution of that decree, which is either *per efficientiam*, when the diuine power doth worke any thing with, or without the creature, or *secundum permissionem*, when the creature hath leaue to worke without the guidance of that power. Neither will it sauour of impertinence, if we insert here that distinction of Gods prouidence in *efficientem & deserentem:* Into a *releeuing and forsaking prouidence*, for whensoeuer God withdrawes his especiall aid and assistance from vs, man is hurried where his owne corrupter appetite, not Gods grace carrieth him. *Adam* fell as soone as the influence of Gods grace ceased, and without the supportance of the same grace we all fall, with no lesse certainty of perill, than danger of restitution. When the Sunne sets, we see darknesse follows immediatly vpon the face of the earth, and yet the Sunne is not the efficient cause of darknesse, but the deficient; so when the Sunne of righteousnesse shall forsake vs, the darknesse of errour must needs possesse the vnderstanding, and the will must mistake in her choice and execution. She must *necessitate consequentiæ, non consequentis*. The necessitie is grounded on a consequence in Logicke, not any influence in Nature. And here we may borrow a true glosse for that in the 2 *Acts*, where it is said that Christ was deliuered into the hands of the wicked, by the determinate counsell & fore-knowledge of God. We must not thinke that God was the setter in this villany, that he conspired with *Iudas* in his treason, or with *Pilate* in his bloudy sentence: But that he onely gaue way to their attempts, & suffered them to crucifie the Lord of glory. Yea, but why did not God curbe them in their cruell proceedings? Why should his conniuence betray the bloud of innocence? Saint *Augustine* shall answer for me, *Quia melius iudicauit de malis bene-*

bene-facere, quàm mala nulla esse permittere. To extract good out of euill was peculiar onely to omnipotency and goodnesse; and therefore no lesse solid than charitable is that caueat of *Du-Plesses — Malè quæritur, vnde malum efficiatur.* It is an ill curiosity to seeke an efficient cause of ill. Let this then satisfie modest enquiry that it is with the sinner as with an vntuned Instrument, and the Musitian, the sound is from the finger of him that toucheth it, but the iarring from the Instrument.

That our discourse then with the time may draw towards a Period, we inuolue and wrap vp in this one distinction the very iuice and substance of the controuersie. Sinne is considerable two waies, *ante commissionem*, before the Commission, *Sic se Deus habet negatiuè, tum respectu voluntatis, tum productionis.* God doth neither worke with vs, nor countenance vs in the act of sinning. *Post commissionem*, after the Commission, *sic Deus determinat, & ordinat peccatum.* God sets bounds to the malice of wicked men, and so mannages the disorder in sin, that contrary to the nature of sinne, and the intent of the sinner, it shall redound to his glory.

We inculcate then, that God is not the *author*, but the *orderer* of sinne. Hee causeth the *worke*, not the *fault*; the *effect*, not the *delinquency*, working *by*, not *in* mischiefe. Wherein, according to the rules of Logicke, *the finall and impulsiue causes euer so distinguish the actions, that two doing the same thing to a diuers intent, are notwithstanding said not to doe the same.* So God gaue his Sonne, and Christ himselfe, and *Iudas* Christ, (saith *Augustine*) why is God here holy, and man guilty? *Nisi in re vnâ quam fecerunt, non est causa vna ob quam fecerunt.* I shut vp all with that state of *Fulgentius*, in his first booke *ad Manetium cap.* 13. Where hauing long houered ouer this question, *An peccata fiant ex prædestinatione?* He at last thus resolues it: *Potuit Deus, sicut voluit, prædestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad*

pœnam,

pœnam, sed quos prædestinauit ad gloriam, prædestinauit ad iustitiam, quos autem prædestinauit ad pœnam, non prædestinauit ad culpam. God when he saues any man, doth predestinate him as well to the meanes, as to the end. But in the reprobation of a sinner, God destines the sinner onely to the punishment; foreseeing, but not determining those sinnes which shall in time draw Gods punishments downe vpon him.

Doe our corruptions harden then, and God punisheth? Take heed you *Pharaohs* of the world, you which persecute the poore Israelite in his way to *Canaan*, spurre not the goodnesse of the Almighty to reuenge, or iustice. *Læsa patientia fit furor*—, trample too much on the necke of patience, you will turne it to fury. It is true, God hath feet of Lead (clemency intermixt with slownesse of reuenge) but he hath hands of iron, they will grinde and bruise into powder, when they are dared to combat.

Sera venit, sed certa venit vindicta Deorum.

Procrastination of diuine iustice is euer waited on no lesse with a certaintie of punishment than ruine. What shall wee doe then (wretched, miserable that wee are) or to whom shall we flie for succour? The good S. *Augustine* tels vs, —*à Deo irato, ad Deum placatum*—, from the Tribunall of his iustice, to his Throne of mercie and compassion. That of *Anselmus* was most admirable, —*Etsi Domine ego commisi vnde me damnare potes, tu tamen non amisisti, vnde me saluare potes*—. O blessed Iesus, though I haue committed those transgressions for which thou maist condemne mee, yet thou hast not lost those compassions by which thou maist saue me. If our soules were in such a straight, that wee saw hell opening her mouth vpon vs, like the red sea before the Israelites; the damned and vgly fiends pursuing vs behinde, like the Ægyptians, on the right hand, and on the left; death and seaready to ingulfe vs, yet vpon a broken heart, and vn-

disguised sorrow, would I speake to you in the confidence of *Moses*,—*Stand still, stand still; behold the saluation of the Lord.* Thou then which art oppresst with the violence and clamour of thy sinnes, and wantest an aduocate either to intercede, or pitty, heare the voice of the *Lambe*,—*Cry vnto me, I will heare thee out of my holy hill.* Is any heauily loaden with the weight of his offences, or groanes vnder the yoke and tyrannie of manifold temptations? —*Come vnto me, I will refresh thee*—. Doth any hunger after righteousnesse? behold, *I am the bread of life, take, eat, here is my body.* Doth any thirst after the waies of grace? Loe, *I am a liuing spring, come, drinke, here is my bloud:* my bloud that was shed for *many* for the remission of sinnes; for *many*, not for all. Hath sinne dominion ouer thee? or doth it reigne in thy mortall heart? are the wounds of thy transgressions so deepe that they cannot be searched? or so old, that they corrupt and putrifie? where is the Samaritan that will either binde them vp, or powre in oyle? But art thou not yet dead in trespasses? are not thy vlcers past cure? are there any seeds of true life remaining? is there any motion of repentance in thy soule? will thy pulse of remorse beat a little? hast thou but a touch of sorrow? a sparke of contrition? a graine of faith? know there is *oyle of comfort for him which mournes in Sion.* Not a teare drops from thee with sincerity, which is either vnpitied, or vnpreserued,—*God puts it into his bottle.* On the other side, is there a *Pharaoh* in thee? an heart vnmollified? a stone that will not be bruized? a flint vnmalleable? I both mourne for it, and leaue it: But is this *heart of stone* taken away, and is there giuen thee a *heart of flesh*? is it soft and tender with remorse? truly sacrificed to sorrow? know there is *balme of Gilead for the broken heart*, balme that will both refresh and cure it. Thou then which groanest in the spirit, and art drawne out (as it were) into contrition for thy sinnes; thou which hast *washt thy*

hands

hands in innocence, goe cheerefully *to the altar of thy God*, vnbinde thy sacrifice, lay it on. But hast thou done it sincerely? from thy heart? lurkes there no falshood there? is all *swept cleane and garnished*? doth the countenance of that smile as cheerefully, as the other seemes to doe of the outward man? if so, thy fire is well kindled, the Altar burnes clearly, the *sauour of thy incense shall pierce the clouds*. But is this repentance disguised? hath it a touch of dissimulation in it? is not thy old ranker cleane disgorged, but must thou againe to thy former vomit? hypocrite, thy Altar is without fire, thy incense without smoke, it shall neuer touch the nostrils of the Almighty, thy prayers in his eares sound like blasse, and tinkle like an ill-tuned Cimball; all this formality of zeale is but a disease of the lip: *giue me thy heart my sonne*, I will haue that, or none, and that cleane too, wash'd both from deceit and guile. Thus subtill fallacy of the eye pointing towards heauen, that base hypocrisie of the knee kissing the earth, that seeming austerity of the hand martyring thy breast, gaines from me neither applause, nor blessing; the example of a Pharisee could haue chid thee to such an outside of deuotion,—*Qui pectus suum tundit, & se non corrigit, aggrauat peccata, non tollit*, saith *Augustine*, where there is an outward percussion of the breast, without remorse of the inward man, there is rather an aggrauation of sinne, than a release; these blanchings, and guildings, and varnishings of externall zeale, are as odious in the eie of God, as those of body in a true Christian; this glosse, this paint of demurenesse speakes but our whoredomes in religion, & the integrity of that man is open both to censure and suspition, that is exposed either to the practise of it, or the approbation. A villaine is a villaine howsoeuer his garbe or habite speake him otherwise, and an hypocrite is no lesse, though sleeked ouer with an externall sanctity, & drest in the affectations of a precisers cut. Let vs be *truly that* what wee *seeme to be*, and not

seeme what we are not; let there be doores & casements in our breasts, that men may see the loyaltie twixt our heart and tongue, and how our thoughts whisper to our tongue, and how our tongue speakes them to the world. Away with those Meteors and false-fires of Religion, which not onely by-path vs in a blinded zeale, but misleade others in our steps of errour. Let vs put off the old man in our pride, vaine-glorie, hypocrisie, enuy, hatred, malice, and (that foule disease of the times and vs) *uncharitablenesse*; and let vs put on the new man in sincericie, faith, repentance, sobrietie, brotherly kindnesses, loue, and (what without is disparages the tongue both of men and Angels) *charitie*; then at length all teares shall be wiped away from our eyes, and we shall receiue that euerlasting benediction, —*Come yee children, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world.*— To which, the Lord bring vs for Christ Iesus sake, to whom be praise and power ascribed now, and for euermore. Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

FINIS.

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

His { *Beginning.* / *Height.* / *Fall.* }

In a Sermon preached at *Pauls* Crosse, *Iune* 4. 1624.

Being the first Sunday in *Trinitie* Terme.

By

Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *Colledge* in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

TO MY APPROVED WORTHY FRIEND Mr. *Francis Croſsing*; *This.*

SIR;

I Was neuer yet ſo preposterous in my reſpects, as to value the worth of him I ſerue, by the title, but the diſpoſition; He is noble *to me, that is ſo in his* actions, *not his* deſcent; *thoſe high-ſwolne priuiledges of* bloud *and* fortune *are* (*for the moſt part*) tympanies *in* greatneſſe, *pricke them, and they proue*

windes of honour, *not substances. Had I beene ambitious of an high* Patronage, *this weake peece I send you might haue worne an* honourable *inscription, but I haue that within me which chides those insolencies, and tells me that the name of* friend *sounds better than of* Lord, *and hee is lesse mine that doth onely* countenance *me, than he that* feeds *me; He onely deserues to be a protector of my Labours which hath beene a cherisher of my fortunes; to you then this at once flies for Patronage, and acceptance, desiring you to receiue it as a monument of his thankfulnesse, who euer deuotes himselfe*

Your most-most respectiue

HVM: SYDENHAM.

THE ARAIGNMENT OF THE ARRIAN.

IOHN 8. 58.

Before Abraham was, I am.

NEuer age afforded a perfection of that eminency which was not expoſed to enuie, or oppoſition, or both. Truth is the childe of vertue; and, as the inheritreſſe of all her glories; ſo, her ſufferings. Now, vertue growes by vniuſt wounds, and ſo doth truth too; and like ſteele that is bent, ſpringeth the other way. She ſhewes her beſt luſtre vpon encounter, and like the Sunne ſhines brighteſt betwixt two clouds, *malice*, *errour*; both (here) conſpire to ouercaſt and darken the glory of thoſe beames which enlighten euery man that comes into the world,

the ſunnes of righteouſneſſe. It hath euer beene the ſtratagem and proiect of that *Arch-enemie* of man, for the aduancement and ſtrengthening of his great title—*The Father of lies*—, either to ſtrangle truth in the conception, or ſmother it in the birth. If hee miſcarrie in his owne particular vndertakings, hee will ſuborne his Factors, *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; and theſe not onely to queſtion, but to oppoſe a Deitie, fit agents put vpon ſuch a damned deſigne, for it is theirs no leſſe by debt than parentage; —*Ye are of your father the Deuill, v.* 44 He hath bequeathed you a prodigious lie, and you would faine practiſe it on the Sauiour of the world, labouring to nullifie his acts, blemiſh his deſcent, impoſture all his miracles. Where were they euer ſeconded, but by the finger of a God? or, where contradicted, but by the malice of a Iew? could the powers of the graue, and the ſhackles and bands of death bee diſſolued, and broken by the meere hand of *Beelzebub?* or a dead and ſtinking carkaſſe, enliued and quickened by a *Samaritan and his deuill?* could the kingdome of darkneſſe, and all thoſe legions below, fetch a ſoule out of the boſome of your *Abraham*, and re-inthrone it in a body foure dayes entombed? No, that —*Magnus hiatus inter te, & nos*—, returnes the lie vpon all helliſh power, and the prince thereof.—*Betweene you, and vs, there is a great gulfe fixed, Luke 16. 26.* Why then exclaime you on the iniuſtice and falſhood of his teſtimonies? *Opera quæ ego facio*—, *The workes which I doe beare witneſſe of me.* Looke on them, and if they vnſcale not your wilfull blindneſſe, the axioms and principles of your owne law will conuince you. It is written in your *Thalmud*,—*That the teſtimony of two men is true*—. Behold then out of your own bloud, and Nation, two ſtrong euidences againſt you, Iewes both, and both ſpeake him a true God, —*A virgin ſhall conceiue and bring forth a Sonne, and his name ſhall be called Emmanuel, God with vs*, Iſa. 7. 14. *This is our God, and there ſhall be none in*

compariſon

compariſon of him, Baruch 3.36. Why then are ye ſo ſtartled at his naming *Abraham?* or why doth your indignation ſwell, that he ſayes he is before him? *Abraham reioyced to ſee my day, and ſaw it, and was glad, verſ.* 56. (My day of eternity, and my day of incarnation, with the eie of faith.) Why enquire you into the number of his yeeres? a whole age to him is as an houre, two thouſand yeeres but as a minute, and all the wheeles and degrees of time within his ſpan, and as a *nunc* or inſtant? before *Abraham* was, before the world, before all time *I am. Iow*, take his word, it is orthodox, or if not, his aſſeueration: and if that be too ſlight and ſingle, loe, hee doubles it, *Verily, verily, I ſay vnto you, before Abraham was, I am.*

And now thou that ſitteſt in the chaire of *Moſes*, heare what S. *Auguſtine* tells thee, —*Appende verba, & cognoſce myſterium*—, the words (indeed) are of a narrow circuit, yet they ſhrine and inuolue a myſtery, and carry with them both maieſty and depth, like rich ſtones ſet in Ebonie, where though the ground be darke, yet it giues their luſtre and beauty clearer; learne here then both propriety, and weight of language, and how to criticke between a God, and thy owne frailty.—*Intellige, fieret, ad humanam ſalturam, ſum verò, ad diuinam pertinere ſubſtantiam?* —*Was*, points onely to a humane conſtitution, —*I am*, to a diuine ſubſtance, and therefore the originall hath a —*γενέσθαι*— for *Abraham*, & an —*εἰμί*— for *Chriſt*. Diuinity is nor cloiſtered or confined to time; either paſt, or future, but commands all as preſent; and therefore not —*I was*, but —*I am*. Neither doe the Latines giue *Abraham* an —*eſſet*, but a *fieret*, nor *Chriſt* a —*fui*, but a —*ſum*. Hereupon the full tide of Expoſitors, beſides * *M. Caluine*, and his *Marlorate*, (who though they a while diuide the ſtreame, yet at length they meet in the ſame channell, and ſo make the current a little fuller) waue this way, and ſend vs to that —*I am*, of *Exo-*

* *Egolatius extendo, Cal. in* 8. *Io.*

dus, in the 3. *chap.* 14. *verſ.* where wee finde the root with an—*Ehieh*, *Aſher Ehieh*, which though the Chaldee renders,—*Ero qui ero*, *I will be that I will be*. (which indeed is the genuine ſignification of the originall) yet the vulgar Edition giues it in the preſent,—*I am that I am*. and the *Septuagint*—ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν,—*I am he that is*. (it being both frequent and neceſſarie with the *Hebrewes* to place the future for the preſent) and by this they imply —*Gods eternall and vnchangeable being in himſelfe*. The *Thalmudiſts* alſo (whoſe authority muſt paſſe for currant, where there is no power to contradict, or ſcanne) allow this,—*Ehieh*—as much as—*Sum*—*Fui*—*ero*—the compre-henſion of three times, *paſt*, *preſent*, and to *come*. So the *Rabbins* in *Elleſhemoth Rabbi* vpon this Text, reade,—*I that haue beene*, and *I the ſame now*, and *I the ſame for time to come*. Howeuer the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* labours an indifferencie, and hath charitie enough to afford both interpretations,—*He that was, and hereafter will be*.—*Ad denotandam aternitatem eius* (ſaith *Ionathan*) to ſhew the eternall being of him who alone can ſay —*Sum*, *ero*—*I am*, *and I will be*; for he is the verie ſource and fountaine of all life and eſſence, *In whom we liue, and moue, and haue our being*—, and by reaſon of this triplicitie of time and power, *Vatablus* would deriue *Ihehouah* from this word —*Ehieh* (though ſome of the *Hebrew* Doctors fetch the pedigree a little higher) from —*Hauah*, —*He was*, and tels vs that by the firſt letter is ſignified, *he will be*, and by the ſecond—*Ho*,—*He is*; & to this *Rabbi Bechai* ſeemes to aſſent, in his 65. *page* vpon *Exodus*. But howeuer they war a little in the deriuation, they do not in the ſubſtance, proportioning both this triple priuiledg, & where there is ſuch an immenſity, we cānot but make a God, & where ſuch a God, eternitie. All things beſides him once were not, and being, are limited in their natures, neither could poſſibly perſiſt, vnleſſe God preſerued them; many alſo haue loſt, or ſhall loſe their proper eſſence, and whilſt they

they remaine are obnoxious to daily fluctuations; only God eternally —*Is*—without beginning, limitation, dependance, mutation, end, consisting only of himselfe, and all other creatures of him, and therefore this—*Ehieh*—*I am*—is a peculiar attribute of omnipotency, not determining any other, but indeterminatly signifying all manners of being, for so it imports —*The very immensitie of Gods substance*,—and to this with an vnanimous consent all Interpreters subscribe, and the whole quire of Fathers. I haue now brought —*Ehieh*— close vp with *Iehouah*, this —*I am*— with him that is -*First*- and *Last*, so that we may here rather challenge than borrow that of the *Apostle*; *Iesus Christ yesterday, and to day, and the same for euer*. Where *S. Chrysostome* will put *Christ* vpō that triple prerogatiue to make him a compleat God, too.—*A yesterday*, for time past, -*to day*- present-*for euer*, to come, though I meet here (as I shall in euery cranny and passage of my discourse) a violent opposer, *Eniedinus Samosatenianus*, who limits the *Apostles*—*Heri*—and *Hodie*—*ad Remnuperam*, *& recentem*- so in *Iob* (he saies) men are called —*Hesterni*— by the *Greekes*, ἐφήμεροι —*yesterday*- and *to day*— for their breuitie of life; but this interpretation is no lesse bold than desperate, and that εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας —which followes in the originall, will cut off all comment and glosse of transitorinesse —*The same for euer*,-and therfore we finde him cloathed with peculiar titles of the Almighty, and by Saint *Iohn* foure seuerall times fronted with an ἀπὸ τοῦ ὢν,—*from him that was, and is, and is to come*;—so that if any murmuring vnbeleeuer should recoile in the acknowledgement of Christs diuinity; he beats on againe, a third & a fourth time, that if he cannot pierce the stony heart by a single perswasion, he will batter it by inculcation. Howeuer the malice or peruersnesse of most ages haue brought this truth not only vpon termes of scruple, but opposition, so that now it is growne disputable, whether Christ suf-

fered

fered more in his body by the fury and violence of the hand, or in his diuinitie by the ſcourge and ſting of venomous and deprauing tongues? one would haue him, *no God*, another *no man*; this againe would haue him *a meere man*, and that denies him *a true bodie*; one ſtrips him quite of *fleſh*, another cloathes him with it, but makes it *ſinfull*; this would haue him an *Angell*, that little better than a *deuill*, or at leaſt that *he vſed one*. One, *no bodie*, another (I beleeue) *nothing* —*Eſt illud mirabile* (ſaith *Athanaſius*) *Cum omnes hæreſes inuicem pugnent, in falſitate omnes conſentire*—

Euery head is frantike with a ſtrange opinion, and that with ſome wilde fancie, which all meet in the ſame improbabilitie and (which it euer breeds) falſhood. Errour and infidelitie may blow on diuine truth, and ſhake it too, but not ouerthrow it; 'tis founded on ſuch a Baſis and ſure ground-worke as is ſubiect neither to battery nor vndermining. *The Rocke, Chriſt.* The *Iew* and the *Arrian* lay on fiercely here, not onely to deface this goodly ſtructure, but to demoliſh it, and ruine (if poſſible) his diuinitie; but lend me a while your noble attention, Ile ſhew you with what weakneſſe they come off, what diſhonour. In the trauerſing of which giue mee leaue to make vſe of that Apologie which in the ſame ſubject Saint *Ambroſe* did to *Gratian*, —*Nolo argumento credas (ſancte Imperator) & noſtra diſputationi; ſcripturas interrogemus, interrogemus Apoſtolos, Prophetas, Chriſtum.* Leane not ſo much to my ſtrength of argument and diſputation, as to a ſacred authoritie & proofe; Let vs aske the Scriptures, Patriarchs, Prophets, Euangeliſts, Apoſtles, Chriſt; let me adde (for ſo both my taske and induſtrie require) Fathers, Councels, Rabbins, Schoole-men, Hiſtories ſacred & prophane, let's giue antiquitie her due, and not in a lazy thirſt drinke of the ſtreame, (which is either troubled or corrupt) when wee may haue our fill at a cleere fountaine; to traffique here

at

at home with a few moderne Syſteames, is no ſmall ſinne of the age onely, but our profeſſion too, if we can fleyle downe the tranſgreſſions of the time in ſome few ſtolne *Poſtelliſmes*, and peece a ſacred line with a worme-eaten Apophthegme, ſo it be done in a frequent & haſty zeale, we are the Sages and the Patriots of the time, and the lights no doubt of this vnder firmament; but our diſcourſe grouels not ſo low; we are here to tread a maze, & threed a Labyrinth, ſometimes on hils of ice, where, if we ſlip in the leaſt *punctũ*, we tumble into hæreſie; ſometimes with *Peter* in the deepe, that if the hand of *Chriſt* did not a little ſuccour vs, we ſhould ſinke into infidelity. I will ballaſſe my diſcourſe with as much cauteloufneſſe as I may, and where I meet with difficulties which are ſtony and vntrodden, if I cannot fairely maſter them, I will oppoſe them with my beſt ſtrength, and if not finde a way ſmooth to ſatisfaction, dig on; I may perchance awaken hæreſies, but I will lull them againe in their own ſlumber, I will onely pull aſide the veile and ſhew you their vglineſſe, and ſhut them vp in their owne deformities. I know I am to ſpeake to an auditorie, as well ſeaſoned with faith, as vnderſtanding, and yet (perchance) not without ſome mixture and touch of weakneſſe. Here are ſhallowes then for Lambes to wade, and deepes for elephants to ſwimme, paſſages which lie leuell with humble capacities, others which will venture to ſtand vp with riper iudgements, if they ſtoop ſomtimes and ſeeme too low for theſe, and mount againe and proue too high for others, it was euer my deſire to keepe a correſpondence with the beſt, and ſo to make vſe of that of *Auguſtine*, —*Non fraudabo eos qui poſſunt capere, dum timeo ſuperfluus eſſe auribus eorum qui non poſſunt capere*—. Yet come I not to fill thoſe eares which are pickt and dreſt for accurateneſſe, I am ſo farre from labouring to pleaſe ſuch, that I intend to vex them; if any charitable eare bee prone to a ſoure diſcourſe, pitch that attention heere one

houre, and I ſhall make good my promiſe out of the words of the Text.

Before Abraham was, I am.

And here we are firſt to enter liſts with that capitall and Arch-enemy of *Chriſt*, the vexation of the Fathers, and the incendiary and firebrand of the Eaſtern Church, the *Arrian*, who out of an enuious pride is at once bountifull and iniurious, willing to inueſt *Chriſt* with the title ὁμοούσιος, but diſrobes him of that glorious, & his owne, ὁμοούσιος, granting him a *like* eſſence with the Father, not the *ſame*: equall to him in *power*, not *eternitie*; but giue me leaue to ſtrip one heriticke to cloath another, and put on ours what *Tertullian* did on *Marcion* —*Quid dimidias mendacio Chriſtum?* why doſt thou thus peece-meale and mince a deity, & *halfe God* (as it were) the Son of the Almighty?—*Totus veritas*, he is the ſpirit of truth, and oracle of his Father, *the brightneſſe of his glory*, in whom are hid all the treaſures of *Wiſedome, knowledge*, by whom God made the world.

It were too bold a ſoleciſme to ranke tranſitorineſſe with what is ſacred, or that which is fleeting with euerlaſtingneſſe, what below eternall dare we make compatible with omnipotencie?

An eternall Intellect, moſt perfect, and ſuch is God, requires an obiect equally perfect, and eternall, which from God, holding a relation to God, can be nothing but God it ſelfe; & ſeeing that no Intellect can conceiue without the image of that obiect which it conceiues, it will follow of neceſſitie that God, ſince from all eternitie he knew himſelfe moſt perfect, ſhould conceiue and bring forth in himſelfe a moſt perfect image of himſelfe, his Sonne. There is no act of vnderſtanding without imagination, which naturally preſents an *image*, by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the obiect, whoſe image

image it is, is more diuinely excellent. And this is that the Apoſtle glanc't at, when he ſtiled *Chriſt*,—*Characterem hypoſtaſis patris* —the expreſſe *image* of his Fathers perſon, a ſonne ſo begotten *of* and *in* the *ſubſtance* of the Father, that there can be nothing from it, diuers, or repugning. Seeing then, in God to *vnderſtand* and *to be* are not ſo much parallels, as equals, *Intelligi autem ſit ipſum filij eſſe* —as the Schoole ſpeakes —ſtrength of conſequence will induce, that the ſubſtance of Father and Sonne, ſound one both in power and euerlaſtingneſſe; in fine, for as much as the *vnderſtanding* of God is from eternitie, actiue, nay, the very act eternall, and that *vnderſtanding* cannot be without an *Image*, It followes that this *Image* which was conceiued, the Sonne, was equall to that which did conceiue, the Father, ſo that the eternitie of God the Sonne, and his equalitie with God the Father doth ariſe from that eſſentiall Identitie of both, for where two perſons ſhall agree in the ſame eſſence, if the one be infinite, the other muſt riuall in the ſame eternitie.

Keck. Syſt. Theol. l. 1. ca. 2.

Here is the Rock then on which we build our Church, and the ſure *Baſis* where we foot and faſten our beleeſe. —*The Sonne is begotten of the eſſence of the Father, and alwayes begotten*,—*Non quòd quotidiè renouetur illa generatio, ſed quia ſemper eſt*,—ſaith *Origen*, not becauſe it is daily renouated, but becauſe it euer—*Is*—or rather —*Was*. For Saint *Gregory* in the 29. of his *Morals*, the firſt Chapter, plaies as well the *Criticke*, as the Diuine, & is no leſſe nice, than ſolid,—*Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus in eo quòd virtus & ſapientia Dei eſt, de patre ante tempora natus eſt, vel potius quia nec cœpit naſci, nec deſijt, dicam verius, ſemper* natus, *non poſſumus, ſemper* naſcitur, *nè imperfectus eſſe videatur*—Our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt* in that he is the power and wiſedome of God is ſaid to be borne of the Father before all times, or rather becauſe there was no *beginning* or *end* of his generation, we may ſpeake more

Tom. 2. hom. 6. in Ieiem.

congruously, he *was* alwayes borne, not -*Is*-, for that presupposes some imperfection, and as the same Father prosecutes. That we may declare him both perfect and eternall, we allow him as well a -*semper*- as a -*Natus*- for as much as -*Natus*- hath reference to perfection, -*semper*-, to eternitie. Howeuer S. *Augustine* in his exposition of that of the *Psalmist*, —*Ego hodiè genui te*—*Thou art my Son, this day haue I begotten thee*, *Psal.* 2. sayes that -*Hodiè*- *præsentiam significat* and in eternitie, neither is the time past any thing, as if it should cease to bee, nor time to come, as if it were not yet, but onely the time present, Because whatsoeuer is eternall alwayes -*Is*- yet at length hee vnderstands that place—*de sempiterna generatione sapientiæ Dei*— And *Lombard* descants on it in his first booke ninth distinction, who would haue the Prophet to say -Genui-*nè nouum putaretur*, -hodiè- *nè præterita generatio videretur*: *I haue begotten thee*, left it should be thought new, *to day*, past, and thence out of the authoritie of the Text or the interpretation, concludes a perpetuall generation of the Sonne from the essence of the Father.

Vt æternus designari valeat, & perfectus, & semper dicimus & natus, quatenus, & natus ad perfectionem pertineat, & semper ad æternitatem.

But here the Hereticke interposes, and thus subtilly beats at the gates of reason; *A thing that is borne, cannot bee said that it was euer, for in this respect it is said to be borne, that it might be.* S. *Hilarie*, by a modest answer, or confutation rather, limits his proposition to things meerely secular, which borne here in the course of nature, must necessarily call on time, and tell vs they sometimes were not, it is one thing then to be borne of that which alwaies *is not*, another of that which alwaies *was*, for that is temporarie, this eternall.

Lib. 12. *de Trin.*

If then it be proper to God the Father, alwaies to bee Father, it must be to God the Sonne, alwaies to be Sonne; so the Euangelist, —*In the beginning* was *the word, and the word* was *with God, and that word* was *God, and the same* was *from the beginning*; *erat, erat, erat, erat, en quater erat, vbi impius inuenit quod non erat?* Saint *Ambrose* in

Ioh. 1. v. 1.

his

his first to *Gratian* 5. & indeed it was not without a mysterie when in that glorious transfiguration on Mount *Tabor*, *Peter* saw *Christ* with *Moses*, and *Elias* (*when his face did shine as the Sunne, and his raiment was white as Snow*) what did that vision portend? *Nisi vt appareret nobis quod lex & Propheta cum Euangelio congruentes sempiternum Dei filium quem annunciauerant, reuelarent. But that it should appeare vnto vs that the Law and the Gospell going hand in hand with Euangelicall truth* (for vnder *Christ*, and *Moses*, and *Elias*, Saint *Augustine* also shrines those three) *should reueale vnto vs the euerlasting Sonne of God, whom they had both foretold and showne.* And loe yet, as if these were not Oracles loud enough for the promulgation of such a Maiestie, the voice of the Almightie fils it vp with a —*Hic est meus Dilectissimus. This is my beloued Sonne*, My Sonne of eternitie,—*Ego ex vtero ante Luciferum genui te*—. *Psal.* 34. And a sonne of mine owne substance, —*Ex ore Altissimi prodiui.*— *Wis.* 7.—*primogenitus*—*before the day was, I am he*, *Esay* 43.13.—*Vnigenitus*—*A iust God, and a Sauiour, There is none beside me, Esay* 45. 21. A Sonne begotten, not created, not of grace, but nature, *before*, not *in* time.

Ambros. vt supra.

Aug. in orat. ad Catech. cap. 6.

Hereupon *Christ* taking his farewell of his Disciples, *Iohn* 20. shewes them this *Internallum* and distance of generation and adoption: *I goe to my Father, and your Father, and to my God and your*, not to *our* Father, but to *mine* and *yours*. This separation implies a diuersitie, and shewes that God is his *Father* indeed, but our *Creator*; and therefore he addes, *My God and your God*; *Mine* by a priuiledge of *nature*, *yours* of *grace*; *Mine* out of the wombe (as it were) of *euerlastingnesse*; *yours* out of the iawes of *time*. Yet the *Heretique* would faine sell vs to vnbeleefe and errour, by cheating *Christ* of an eternall birth-right, tossing it on the tides of time, and so make him a creature, and no God.

Heere to dissent meerely were both perfunctory and

dull, such a falshood merits rather defiance, than deniall,
Amb. vt supra. —*Negamus? potius horremus vocem*—. Errours that are so insolent are to be explos't, not disputed, and spit at rather than contrould. Confutation swayes not heere, but violence, and therefore the Apostle driues this blasphemy to the head, *Coloss.* 1. 15. Where we finde *Christ* stiled *primogenitus vniuersæ Creaturæ, The first-borne of euery creature*; not the first *created*, —*Vt genitus pro Natura, & primus pro perpetuitate credatur*—, saith *Ambrose*; *borne* presupposes diuine nature—*First*, perpetuitie, and therefore when the pen of the *Holy Ghost* sets him out
Col. 1. in his full glory, he giues him this title, —*hæredem omnium*—, *The heire of all things, by whom God made the*
Amb. 1. *de fi. ad Grat. cap.* 2. *world*—, To make the world, and to be made in it, how contradictory? *Quis Authorem inter opera sua deputet vt videatur esse quod fecit?* saith the Father. Was there euer malice so shod with ignorance, which could not diuide the Artificer from his worke, the potter from his clay, the Creator from the thing created? heare him speak in whose mouth there was no guile; —*Ego & pater vnum sumus, Ioh.* 10. *I and the Father are one. Vnum* —to shew a consent both of *power* and *æternitie*, —*Sumus*—a *perfection* of nature without *confusion*. Againe, — *Vnum sumus* not--*vnus sum*—(so *Augustine* descants)—*Vnum* to confute the *Arrian*,--*Sumus*--the *Sabellian*, the one disioint-
Orat. ad Catech. cap. 5. ing and seuering the times of Sonne & Father, the other confounding their persons—*Vnum*—then, to shew their essence *one*,—*Sumus*—the persons *diuers*.

I could wish that we were now at truce, but with these there is neither peace not safety, but in victory; wee are still in the Front and violence of our Aduersary, who puts on here as *Philip* did to *Christ*, with a —*Domine ostende nobis--Lord shew vs the Father, and it sufficeth vs*, but obserue how the Lord replies, and in his reply controules, and in his controulement cure's? *Haue I been so long time with thee, and hast thou not knowne me Philip?*

I came to reconcile thee to the Father, and wilt thou separate me? Why seekest thou another? he that hath seene me, hath seene my Father also—Audi Arriane quid Dominus? (saith *Augustine*) *si errasti cum Apostolo, redi cum Apostolo*—Hearke *Arrius* how the Lord rebukes him, and if thou hast digrest with an Apostle, returne with an Apostle, so his checke shall be thy conuersion. But whilst we thus shoulder with the *Arrian*, the *Sabellian* lies in ambush, who [illegible] comes on like lightning and thunder, but goes off [illegible] smoake; for looking backe to those words of our Sauiour, he runnes on boldly to his owne paradox, and by this harmony of *Sonne* & *Father* would perswade vs to a *confusion* of their persons; but the Text beares it not, and one little particle shall redeeme it from such a preposterous interpretation; for it runnes not with a—*Qui me videt, videt patrem,—He that sees me, sees my father*, as if I were both father & sonne, but with a—*Qui me videt, videt—&—patrem,—He that sees me, sees my father* also. *Vbi interpositio vnius syllabæ, &, patrem discernit, & filium, teque demonstrat, neque patrem habere, neque filium, August.* in his *contra 5. hæst. genera cap. 6.* It is a rare opinion that hath not something to hearten it either in truth or probability, otherwise it were no lesse erroneous, than desperate. But here there can be no colour or pretence for either, where both Diuinity and Arts breathe their defiance; that two natures should dissolue into one person, religion contradicts; two persons into one nature, reason; but two persons into one person, both reason & religion.—*Dixit Dominus Domino meo*, saith the Psalmist, *The Lord said vnto my Lord, sit at my right hand.* Harke *Sabellius*, here is a *Lord* and a *Lord*, two then, not one; where is now thy confusion of persons? *Ego Deus solus, & non alius extra me, Deut. 32. 12. I am God, and there is none beside me*—*Arrius* where is thy God of *eternity*, and thy God of *power*, thy God of *time*, and *operation*, and thy God from the *beginning*?

Audi

Audi Israel, Dominus noster Deus vnus.—*The Lord our God is God onely*, no riuall, no sharer in his omnipotency, for if temporary, how a God? if a God, how not eternall? if eternall, how not one? Thou alloweſt him the *power* of God, but not the *eternity*, the *operation*, not the *time*; what prodigy of errour? what dearth of reaſon? what warre of contradiction? what is this but to be God, and no God? temporary, and yet euerlaſting? Opinion once ſeeded in errour, ſhoots out into h[illegible]e, and after ſome growth of time, blaſphemy. Who beſides an *Arrian*) could haue thus molded two Gods out of one? except a *Tritheite*, or a *Maniche*? Who (ſcarce ſo groſſely neither) denie them not an equality of *time*, but *condition*, coeternall, but this *good*, and that *euill*. Thus men ouer-borne with the ſtrength of a ſelfe-conceit, are ſo precipitated and drawne on with the ſwindge of an vnruly fancy, that leauing the road and vſuall wayes of truth, they run into by-paths of errour, and ſo at length loſe both their iudgement, and their faith. Some haue beene ſo buſie with ſtarres, that they haue forgotten him that giues them influence; and like curious Lapidaries, dally ſo long with ſparkling obiects, that they loſe the light of that organ which giues life vnto their Art. Learning (indeed) in many is a diſeaſe, not a perfection, a meere ſurfeit, rather vomited, than emptied, nothing paſſeth but what is forced, and as ſometimes with a fit of weakneſſe, ſo of pitty. A greedy knowledge feeds not our vnderſtanding, but oppreſſeth it, and like a rauenous appetite chewes more to poiſon, than to nouriſhment. Were I to drinke freely of what is ſacred, I ſhould deſire that which flowes, not that which is pumped for, waters that are troubled yeeld mud, and are oftentimes aſwell the bane of the receiuer, as the comfort. A Pioner or gold-myner which digs on too farre for his rich veine of Ore, meets with a dampe which chokes him; and we may finde ſome diſpoſitions rather deſperate than ventu-

rous,

turous, knowne more by a heady reſolution than a wiſe cautelouſneſſe, whom we may reſemble to that ſilly and ſtorme-toſt Seamen, who diued ſo long for a peece of his ſhipwrackt treaſure, that either want of aire, or ponderouſneſſe of water depriued him at once of life and fortune. *Arrius* hath been ſo long conuerſant in the ſchoole of Philoſophy, that he forgets hee is a Prieſt, and now makes that the *Miſtreſſe* of Diuinity, which was before the *handmaid*. Saint *Auguſtine* therefore in his Oration *ad Catechum.* expoſtulates with the hereticke, and by way of *Proſopopeia* doth catechize him thus, —*Credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem? Doſt thou beleeue in God the father Almighty, & in his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt our Lord?* I beleeue, thou ſaieſt: here, then thou art mine againſt the *Pagan* and the *Mahometan*. *Doſt thou beleeue that the God and man, Chriſt Ieſus, was conceiued of the Holy Ghoſt, and borne of the Virgin Marie?* I beleeue; thou art yet with me againſt *Photinus* and the *Iew*. *Doſt thou beleeue the father to be one perſon, and the ſonne another, yet father and ſonne but one God?* and this alſo; here thou art mine too againſt the *Sabellian*. —*Age ſi mecum es in omnibus, quare litigamus?* ſaith the Father, if wee are one in all theſe, why contend we? *Let there be no ſtriſe betweene thee and me, for we are brethren.* But it will fall out here anon as betweene *Lot* and *Abraham*, *by reaſon of our ſubſtance we cannot dwell together*, wee muſt part anon. Tell me then how is the ſonne equall to the father, in *operation* or *beginning*, in *power* or *eternitie*, or *both?* In *operation* and *power*, the heretique allowes, but not *eternitie*; *for how can that which was begotten bee equall to that which was not begotten?* Yes, *eternity*, and *greatneſſe*, and *power* in God ſound one, for he is not *great* in one thing, and *God* in another, but in this *great*, that hee is *God*, becauſe his *greatneſſe* is the ſame with his *power*, and his *eſſence* with his *greatneſſe*. Seeing then the ſonne is *coequall* in reſpect of *power*, he muſt be *coeternall* too in reſpect of

euerlastingnesse. Here the *Arrian* is on fire, and nothing can allay or quench these flames but that which giues them an vntimely foment, Reason. To proue a principle in nature is both troublesome and difficult, but in religion without the assent of faith, impossible. In matters of reason, it is first *discourse*, then *resolue*, but in these of religion, first *beleeue*, and the effect will follow, whether for confession of the truth, or conuiction of errour, or both. The greatest miracles our Sauiour did in way of cure or restauration was with a—*si credas*-, and that to the *liuing*, and the *dead*, and between those, the *sicke*. To the Centurion for his seruant with a—*sicut credis*-, *As thou beleeuest, so be it vnto thee*, *Matth.* 8. 5. To the Ruler of the *Synagogue* for his daughter, with a -*Crede*- too,--*Feare not, but beleeue*, *Mar.* 5. 36. To all that are dumbe, or blinde, or lame in mysteries of Diuinity, as to those dumbe, or blinde, or lame in body, with a -*Vtrum creditis? Doe you beleeue these things?* then *your faith hath made you whole*, *Matth.* 9. 28. but if we meet with vnweildy dispositions, such as are not only vntractable, but opposite to the waies of faith, we shall rather drag than inuite them to beleefe; howeuer the Father labours here by a powerfull perswasion, and where hee failes in the strength of proofe, hee makes it out by way of allusion, which he illustrates by a similitude of *fire* and *light*, which are distinct things, one proceeds from another, neither can the one be possibly without the other, the *father* he resembles to the *fire*, the *sonne* to the *light*, and endeuours to deriue it (though obliquely somewhat) from sacred storie in *Deut.* 4. 24. *God* is called a *fire*,—*Thy God is a consuming fire*; in *Ps.* 8. *Christ* the *light*, *Thy word is a light vnto my steps*: With this double stone he batters the forehead both of the *Sabellian*, and the *Arrian*; first of the *Sabellian*, for here are two in one, *fire* and *light*, yet two still not one, why not so with *Sonne* and *Father*? The *Arrian* next, for here also is one borne of another, yet the one not possibly to be

borne

borne without the other, neither of them *first* and *last*; *fire* and *light* coequall, *Father* and *Sonne* so too. The similitude iarres onely in this, those are *temporary*, and these *eternall*,—*pater ergò & filius vnum sunt* (saith the Father) —*Sunt-dico, quia pater & filius, -vnum- quia Deus; dualitas in prole, vnitas in deitate, cum dico filius, alter est, cum dico Deus, vnus est, cont. 5. hoſt. genera cap. 7.* What more obuious and trodden to the thinneſt knowledge, than that there is here *-alius* and *-alias*, but not *-aliud*, as in bels of equall magnitude and dimenſion, (pardon the lowneſſe of the ſimilitude) which though framed out of the ſame *maſſe*, and *Art*, where the *ſubſtance* and *workemanſhip* are one, yet the *ſound* is diuers; for though of Sonne and Father the *ſubſtance* be one as *God*, yet the appellation and *ſound* is diuers, as *Sonne* and *Father*.

The Heretique either impatient of this truth, or ignorant, once more makes reaſon his vmpire, but how ſiniſterly, how iniuriouſly? that which ſhould be the miſtreſſe of our ſenſe, and the Sterne and arbitreſſe of all our actions, muſt now be a promotreſſe and bawd to error. It is bold expoſtulation that runs vs on theſe ſhelues of danger, and hath beene the often wracke of many a blooming and hopefull truth. There are errors beſides theſe deſperate, of will, of vnderſtanding, which ſometimes are rather voluntary, than deliberatiue, and ballaced more by the ſuggeſtions of a weake fancy, than any ſtrength of iudgement; If our thoughts ſtill lie at Hull in thoſe ſhallowes of nature, where we coaſt daily about ſenſe and reaſon, how can wee but daſh againſt vntimely errours? but if we keepe aloofe in principles of Religion, where thoſe winds of doubt and diſtruſt ſwell and bluſter not, faith will be at laſt our waſter vnto truth. Let's not then any longer root our meditations in vallies vnder vs, but looke vp to *thoſe hills from whence our ſaluation commeth*. Let's conuerſe a little with Prophets and Euangeliſts, and thoſe other Regiſters and Secreta-

ries of the Almighty. --*In te est Deus, & non est Deus præter te, Esay* 45. 5. Infidell, either denie a diuinity of *Father*, or *Sonne*, or confesse an *vnitie* of both; for one thou must doe; of the *Sonne* thou canst not, for there is a God in him, the *Father*, *Pater qui in me manet ipse loquitur*, the *Father that is in me he speaketh, & the works which I doe he doth, Ioh.* 10. of the *Father* thou dar'st not, there is a God in him the *Sonne*, --*I am in the Father, and the Father in me, Ioh.* 14. Here then is both a *propriety of nature*, and *vnity of consent*. *God* in *God*, yet not *two*, but *one*, fulnesse of diuinity in the *Father*, fulnesse in the *Son*, yet the *Godhead* not *diuers*, but the *same*, so that now there is no lesse a singlenesse of *name* than *operation*. And therefore those words of the Apostle, though in the first encounter and suruay, they offer a shew of contradiction, yet searched to the quicke and kernell, are not without a mysterious weight, *Rom.* 8. 32. It is said of the Father, -*Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradidit*-. *He spared not his owne Sonne, but* gaue *him for vs all to death*; yet *Ephes.* 5. It is said of the Sonne, -*Tradidit semetipsum pro nobis*—, --*Hee gaue himselfe for vs*--. Heere is a double --*Tradidit*---an a --*pro nobis*--, and a --*se pro nobis*-, if he was *giuen* of the Father, and yet *gaue* himselfe, how can it follow, but that there must be both a sympathy of *nature* and *operation*? And indeed it were a meere sacriledge and robbery of their honour, to depriue them of this so sacred a correspondence. Wee allow to all beleeuers but one soule and one heart, *Acts* 4. to all those that cleaue to God *one spirit*, 1 *Cor.* 16. to husband and wife *one flesh*, to all men in respect of nature, but *one substance*; If in sublunary matters (where there is no alliance or reference with those more sacred) Scriptures approue many to be one, shall we rifle the Father and the Sonne of the like Iurisdiction, and deny them to be *eternally one*, where there is no iarre of *will*, or *substance*? Heare how the Apostle doth chalke out a way to our beleefe, by the rules

rules of diuine truth, 1 Cor. 8. 6. *There is one God which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we of him, and one Lord Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and wee by him.* Here is -*Deus*- and -*Dominus*-, a *God* and a *Lord*, and yet no pluralitie of *God-head*, and an -*ex quo*- and a -*per quem*,-*of whom* and *by whom*, yet a vnitie of *power*, for as in that he sayes *one Lord Iesus Christ*, he denied not the *Father* to be *Lord*, so by saying one God the *Father*, he denied not the *Sonne* to be *God*. —*In te igitur est Deus per vnitatem naturæ, & non est Deus* præter te *propter proprietatem substantiæ. Ambros. lib.* 1. *de fide ad Gratian.* 2. *cap.* With what sacred inscriptions do we find him blazoned, the *ingrauen forme of his Father*, the *image of his goodnesse*, the *brightnesse of his glorie?* and with these three of an Apostle, a Prophet rankes other three not subordinate in maiestie or truth; as if the same inspiration had dictated both matter and forme. *Counsellor*, the *Almightie God*, the *euerlasting Father*, the *euerlasting Father* in a double sense, either as hee is *author* of it, as *Iubal* was said to bee the *Father* of Musicke, when hee was but the *Author* or Inuentor; or in respect of his *affection*, because he loues with an *euerlasting loue*; yet some leaning on the word of the Greeke Interpreter μέλλοντος, which the vulgar renders, —*Pater futuri seculi*— would restraine it onely to the life to come, but *Caluine* extends it to a perpetuity of time and continued *Series* of all ages; And the *Chaldee* translation (which with the *Hebrew* is most authentique) seemes not onely to assent to it, but applaud it too. -*Nomen eius ab* antè *mirabilis consilio, Deus fortis, permanens in sæcula sæculorum*-. Howeuer the *Septuagint* (terrified with the maiestie of so great a name) giue it vs by —*Magni Consilij Angelus*—; which words though they haue no footing in the originall, yet both *Augustine* and *Tertullian* approue the sense, taking —*Angelus*— for —*Nuncius*—, so that *Christ* tooke not vpon him the *nature* of an Angell (as some would iniuriously foize vpon

Esay 9. 6.

In cap. 9. *Esay.*

Origens opinion) but the *office*, by which as a *Legate* or *Mediator*, rather he appeared to those *Patriarchs* of old, *Abraham* and the rest, *Gen.* 18. 3.

I haue once more brought Christ as farre as *Iacob* and *Abraham*, but the Text tels mee a little farther, and so doth my aduersarie too, till I haue verified in *Christ* the strength of that voice, *I am the* God *of Abraham*, and the *God* of *Iacob*. We may not leaue him here with the bare title of an *Angell*, we must goe higher, to that of the *Sonne of God*, where we shall meet our implacable *Arrian* in his violent opposition. *If there be a Sonne, hee must be borne, if borne, there was a time when there was no Sonne, for to bee borne, presupposes a beginning, and that time.* Saint *Augustine* diuided (as it seemes) betweene pitie and indignation, answers; *Qui hoc dicit non intelligit etiam natum esse, Deo sempiternum esse—. To be borne with God, is to be eternall with God*, and hee opens himselfe by his old similitude, *Sicut splendor qui gignitur ab igne*, as light which is begotten of fire, and diffused, is coequall with the fire, & would be coeternall too if fire were eternall, so the Sonne with the Father, *this* being before all time, the *other* must kisse in the same *euerlastingnesse*. The Father thinking his reason built too slenderly, doth buttresse (as it were) and backe it with the authoritie of
1 Cor. 1. an Apostle, such an Apostle as was sometimes a persecutor, and therefore his authoritie most potent against a persecutor, where he stiles Christ, *The power and wisdome of God*. If the Sonne of God be the power and wisdome of God, and that God was neuer without *power* and *wisdome*, how can we scant the Sonne of a coeternitie with the Father? For either wee must grant that there was alwayes a Sonne, or that God had sometimes no wisdome, and impudencie or madnesse were neuer at such a growth of blasphemie as to belch the latter. If the reuerend allegation of a learned Prelate, or those more sacred of an Apostle, cannot bung vp the mouth of a malicious Heretique,

tique, heare the voice of a Prophet,& a Father warbling vpon that too. *Before me there was no other God, and after me there ſhall be none, Eſay* 43. 10. *Quis hoc dicit, pater, an filius?* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) who is here the ſpeaker, the Father or the Sonne (he comes ouer him with a ſubtill *Dilemma:*) if the Sonne, thus he ſaith, —*before mee there was no other God*, if the Father,— *After me* (ſaith he) *there ſhall be none*, for both the Father in the Sonne, and the Sonne in the Father muſt be knowne, when thou nameſt a Father, thou haſt alſo deſigned a Sonne, becauſe no man is a Father to himſelfe; when thou nameſt a Sonne, thou confeſſeſt alſo a Father, for no man is ſonne to himſelfe, the Sonne therefore can neither ſubſiſt without the Father, nor the Father without the Sonne, the one being from euerlaſting, we may not depoſe the other from the like omnipotency. If truth thus twiſted in a triple authoritie of *Prophets, Apoſtles, Fathers*, cannot allay the turbulency of a contagious heretique, heare the voyce of him who ſpake as neuer man ſpake; neuer Father, Apoſtle, Prophet, (if at length ſuch an authoritie be paſſable with an *Arrian*) the Lambe of God; *O Father glorifie me with thine owne ſelfe, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was, Ioh.* 17. 5. Heareſt thou Infidell? a Sonne, and glorified, with the Father before the world? what chinke now, what by-path for euaſion where thou art compaſſed with ſuch a cloud of witneſſes?

Tell me deuill (for hereticke is too cheape and low an attribute, when thou art growne to ſuch a maturity and height of prophanation) was there a time when omnipotent God the Father was not, and yet was there a God? *Gird now vp thy loynes, and anſwer if thou canſt*, for if he began to be a Father, then he was firſt a God, & after made a Father, how is God then immutable, how the ſame one, when by acceſſe of generation he ſhall ſuffer change? Grant mee then a God eternall, and thou muſt a Father, and if a Father, a ſonne too, they are relatiues,

tiues, and cannot digeſt a ſeparation either in reſpect of time, or power. And this thou didſt once ſubſcribe to (and I know not what deuilliſh ſuggeſtion wrought thy reuolt) in an Epiſtle to *Euſebius*, if the authoritie of *Brentius* will paſſe for claſſicall, where thou couldſt afford him the ſtile of πλήρης Θεὸς μονόγωνος, *plenus Deus, vnigenitus*- and a little before that hee had his beginning, πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων—*ante tempora, ante ſæcula*, why ſhouldſt thou now then rip vp the wombe of Deitie, and enquire how hee was begotten? how borne? and when? as if thou labouredſt to baſtard his deſcent, and make it temporarie. Doe not, do not out of the cuſtome of humane generation tie eternitie to time, or manner, and ſo at once vomit errour and blaſphemie. Heare the voice of the Lord thundring vnto thee, *Cui me ſimilem exiſtimas?* who is like vnto mee, or to whom is the arme of the Lord reuealed? *Me ante montes generauit Dominus*, before the mountaines were ſettled, or the hils raiſed, I was brought forth. *Habeat ergo generationis inuſitatæ gloriam, qui habet poteſtatis inuſitatæ gratiam.* He that hath an vnwonted Iuriſdiction in reſpect of power, it were a derogation too capitall to leſſen his prerogatiue in way of birth; obſerue what pompe he carrieth of antiquity, what deſcent, how deriued? by *Heraulds* of no meane ranke, a *King*, & a *Prophet*, and a Prophet that's a *King*, *I was ſet vp of old, from euerlaſting*, Prou. 8. 24. *His goings forth haue beene from euerlaſting*, Mich. 5. 2. *Thy throne is eſtabliſhed of old, thou art from euerlaſting*, Pſal. 93. 2. Harke, from *euerlaſting*, from *euerlaſting*, from *euerlaſting*, one ecchoing to another, as if the ſame pen had beene as well the directrix of the languages, as the truth. If thou halt then hereafter ball an eternitie with a—*quando*, or a—*quomodo natus?* I goe on with the Father ſtill, *Quid te iſta quæſtionum tormenta delectant? Audis Dei filium, aut dele nomen, aut agnoſce naturã?*—*Queres* that are too nice rather torment the vnderſtanding, than informe it, and are more

Ambroſ. 1. de fide, cap. 5.

Amb. vt ſup.

more apt to puzzle our Iudgement, than to rectifie it. Subtilty of queſtions (I know not whether) it hath more conuinced, or begotten errour, or improued vs in our knowledge, or ſtaggered vs. And hence I ſuppoſe was the ſubſtance of the Apoſtles aduice to the *Romanes*, *Hee that is weake in faith receiue you*; but not to doubtfull diſputations, *Cap.* 14. 1. Curioſities of queſtion haue euer beene the engines and ſtales to hereſie, and therfore ſome of the Fathers haue nick-named *Philoſophers* with an —*Hæreticorum Patriarchæ*—. It is no leſſe a policy than right in ſadder learning, to giue Diuinity the chaire, for if Arts with their ſubtle retinue once inuade it, ſenſe and reaſon will hiſſe faith out of doores. And therefore we finde the ſame Apoſtle vehement in his—*Cauete ne vos ſeducat*, Beware leſt any man *ſpoile you through Philoſophy and vaine deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt*, Coloſſ. 2. 4. In matters of faith he that plaies either the Philoſopher, or the criticke, diſplaies neither his Iudgement, nor his Religion, for *the kingdome of God is not in word, but in power*, 1 Cor. 4. 20. *Conſidera* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *quod voceris fidelis non rationalis*, Faith, not reaſon, is our anchor in this depth, and beleefe, not ſcruple, is our ſteerſman to our port. Wiſdome, I meane that which is worldly and feathered (as it were) with tranſitorineſſe, muſt now ſtoope to ſimplicity, ſtrength to weakneſſe. How doth the Apoſtle iumpe with vs? *Hee hath choſen the fooliſh things of this world to confound the wiſe, and the weake things the mighty*, 1 Cor. 1. 27. Hence it is that the kingdome of heauen belongs vnto children, *Matth.* 19. 13. And God hath hid it from the prudent, and reuealed it to babes, *Matth.* 11. 25. And therefore *S. Auguſtine* makes a proud knowledge ſtrike ſaile to a modeſt ignorance in his 188. *Ser. de Temp.* —*Meum eſt piè ignorantiam confiteri, quam temere mihi ſcientiam vendicare.* In ſacred matters your nimble Criticiſmes are as ob- *Tertull.*

noxious to desperatnesse, as danger; to be curious (here) is to be quaintly madde, and thus to thrust into the bed-chamber of the Almighty is a franticke sawcinesse. Who can vnlocke those Coffers of omnipotency; *but hee that breakes in peeces the gates of Brasse, and cuts in sunder the barres of Iron?* Who those Cabinets of abstruser knowledge? but he *that giues thee the treasure of darknesse, and hidden riches of secret places?* How can our low built apprehensions but flag in the expression of such a birth, when wee finde a Prophet so transported with contemplation of it, that he dares the world with an Interrogation, —*Generationem eius quis enarrabit? Who shall declare his generation*, Esay 53. Yet we haue met with some supercilious and daring wits, which venture here to vntwist this mysterie of generation, as if they would calculate an eternal birth-right, leaning vpon the authority of *S. Hierom* in his Commentaries vpon *Eccl.* 1. where hee asseuers, that in sacred Scriptures —*Quis* oftentimes is not put for an *impossibility*, but a *difficulty*. And he instances in this --*Quis*-- of *Esay*, *Generationem eius quis enarrabit?* But *Lumbard* doth both vindicate and interpret the Father, thus, —*Non dicit quod generatio filij æterna*—. He saies not that this eternall generation of the sonne of God can descend to any mortall capacity in an absolute and full knowledge; but in some measure and degree, for so the Apostle doth peece-out our perfection here, *We are happy in part, and know onely in part*, not a haire, not a feather as we should. *Dic mihi* (saith *Augustine*) *altitudinem Cœli, profundum Abyssi, &c.* Shew me the height of Heauen, and the depth of Hell, number (if thou canst) the sands of the sea, the drops of raine, or the haires of thine owne head. Plane mee out by some perfect demonstration the truth of those things which grouell here below, and I will beleeue thy knowledge may aspire to those which are aboue; but thou hast no power of compassing the one, nor possibility in the atchieue-

Esay 45.2.

Idem, ibid.

Lib. 1. dist. 19.

Orat. contra Arrianos.

ment

ment of the other. For when all thy faculties of *vnderſtanding, will*, haue fluttered ſo high as the wings of nature can eleuate and mount them to, yet thou wilt at laſt make vp the ſtorie of *Icarus*, and finde that theſe are but waxen plumes, and will melt at the preſence of thoſe glorious beames, and ſo thy fall will be as diſhonourable as thy attempt was peremptory; for if the great Doctour of the *Gentiles* (rapt vp into the third Heauen) ſaid that hee heard words vnexpreſſable, which no tongue dared to vtter, how canſt thou diſſolue and vntie —*Paterna generationis Arcana*— (as *Ambroſe* ſtiles them) thoſe knots and Riddles of eternall generation, which can neuer bore a humane intellect, nor lie within the verge of mortall apprehenſion? *Mihi enim impoſſibile eſt generationis ſcire ſecretum* (ſaith the Father) *mens deficit, vox ſilet, non mea tantum, ſed & Angelorum, ſupra poteſtates, & ſupra Cherubin, & ſupra Seraphin, & ſupra omnem ſenſum*, in his 1. *de fide ad Gratian. c.* 4. It is not then ſo much ambition in our deſire, as madneſſe, to attempt the knowledge of that where there is an impoſſibility of reuelation. Thoſe enterprizes are temerarious and ouer-headſtrong, which put on where there is not onely danger, but a deſpaire of conqueſt. How can reaſonable man but lie buried vnder the weight of ſuch a myſterie, at which thoſe grand pillars of the Church haue not onely ſhooke but ſhrunke? How muſt wee be ſtrucke dumbe when the tongues of Saints and Angels ſtutter? How our mindes entranced, when the glorious hoſt of Heauen, & all thoſe feathered *Hierarchies* ſhall clap their wings? All reaſons tongue-tied, all apprehenſion non-pluſt, all vnderſtanding darkened; ſo that I may now ſpeake of this metaphoricall depth, as *Iob* did of that other naturall, —*Thou haſt made a cloud the garment thereof, and thicke darkneſſe a ſwadling band.*

Myſteries carrie with them ſuch an awe and Maieſtie, as if they would be obeyed, not diſputed, and aſſented to,

not controuerſt. In ſecrets without bottome (ſuch as carry the ſtampe of ſacred) except faith holds vs vp like children we ſwimme without bladders, and muſt either dabble to the ſhore, or ſinke, reaſon hath not an hand to lend vs. Faith and reaſon in reſpect of myſterie, are as a wheele and a bucket at a deepe well; faith hath both the power and ſafety of deſcent, and nimbly fathoms it, whilſt reaſon wheele's, and rounds it, and is ſtrangely giddied in a diſtracted *Gyre*. And indeed who durſt

Eſay 44.7. laue ſuch an Ocean, but he *that ſayes to the deepes be drie? or can ſhut vp the ſeas with doores, that they breake not out,*

Iob 38.8. *and ſay, hither ſhalt thou come, no further, there ſhall thy proud waues ſtay?* What eye that lookes on the Sunne,

Ecclus. 10.19. and dazels not, but he *that ſees from euerlaſting to euerlaſting? and ſends out lightning that they may come and goe, & ſay, here we are?* The ſtar-gazer and bold figure-flinger are at a ſtand here, why looke'ſt thou vp thou proud Aſtrologer? you men of *Galilee*, why gaze you into heauen? Thus ſaith the Lord of hoaſts, he that form'd thee from

Eſay 44.24,25. the wombe: *I am the Lord that maketh all things,* that *ſtretcheth out the heauens alone, that fruſtrateth the tokens of lyars, and maketh diuiners mad, that turneth wiſe men backwards, and maketh their knowledge fooliſhneſſe. Thou, O Lord, ſhalt haue them in deriſion, thou ſhalt laugh the heathen to ſcorne, for the ſinne of their mouth, and the words of their lips they ſhall be taken in their pride, as the duſt (O Lord) ſhalt thou driue and ſcatter them, and in thy wrath thou ſhalt conſume them, that they may know that it is God that ruleth in Iaacob, and to the end of the world.*

Arrius is now in his pompe and height of glory, and flouriſheth like a greene bay-tree, anon looke after him, and hee is no where to be found. Hee is vp yet, but it is with the proud man in the *Pſalmes, in ſlippery places*, and (anon) with him, how ſuddenly deſtroyed, periſhed, and brought to a fearefull end? The whole Eaſterne Church is now in a ſtrange combuſti-

on,

on, and hee muſt kindle it, by and by thoſe flames ſhall light him to his owne ruine. Hereſie may root, and bud, and branch, and grow to a goodly height, but the hand of vengeance houers ouer it, and when it ſtrikes, it fels it at a blow, and it comes downe like a pine from a ſteepe mountaine, which in the fall ſhatters both the branch and bodie. It is here, as with miſts and fogs, which we ſee firſt riſe as in a thin ſmoake from a low Fen or Valley, but gathering ſtrength climbe the mountaine, and at laſt ſo thicken in one bodie of vapours, that they ſeeme to dare the Earth with a ſecond night, till the Sunne (recouering height and power) by the vertue and ſubtiltie of his beames, doth diſſipate and open them, and they are ſeene no more.

Will you haue a preſident? wee finde *Arrius* at firſt a meane Prieſt of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, a man keene and ſubtill, as well in wit as learning, *Specie & forma magis, quàm virtute religioſus, ſed gloriæ, & nouitatis imprèb cupidus*, (ſaith *Ruffinus*) In vertue not ſo much refined, as in the deportment of the outward man, which promiſed a ſet grauitie, though no truth of Religion, in a thirſt and purſuit of honour and noueltie, ſtrangely violent,—*Dulcis erat in colloquio, perſuadens animas, & blandiens.* In his diſcourſe no leſſe ſweet than powerfull, and where hee gaines no conqueſt by perſwaſion, hee mines by flatterie; Thus by the ſorceries & enchantments of a voluble tongue, ſimplicitie is betrayed, & vnder a pretext of truth, ſilly women (who are euer moſt affected with leuitie and change) are firſt led captiue; and theſe, for the enhancement & propagation of their new doctrine, commerce with their allies, and theſe tickled with new fancies, applaud the deſigne, entertaine the noueltie, conuenticles are both conſulted on, and ſummoned, and in a ſhort time,—*Septingentas virginitatẽ profeſſas in vnam contraxit*— So *Epiphanius*—. Their Religion is yet in the blade, and greene onely in a few ſhe-diſciples, anon

Lib. 1.

Aduerſ. Hæreſ.

it growes vp by their league wth others, *Eudoxius*, *Eunemius*, *Ætius* & *Demophilus*, *plura nomina*, *sed vna perfidia*; Coheires though not to the same title, the same villany; so that those dangerous tumults in the body of the Church, could not but now startle the Head and Gouernour. *Constantine* is informed of those pernicious and desperate proceedings, who cals a Councell of 318. Bishops for the condemnation of the Heretique. Some conuersant in subtiltie of question (as there was neuer opinion so deformed, but found a Champion to propugne it) fauoured *Arrius*; but at length most of them decreed with one mouth Christ to be ὁμοούσιος, 17 a while sticke fast to the opinion of the Heretique, 11 whereof by the menacing of the Emperour subscribed, *Manu solum, non mente*, and the other 6 are now with *Arrius* vpon termes of exile; they betake themselues to *Palestina*, where partly by strength of Argument, partly by the insinuations of a smooth tongue, they gaine other Bishops to their opinion; anon, *Constantius* and *Valens*, Emperours; some they seduce by subtiltie, some by gifts, some by power, some by crueltie; those that affied constantly to the profession of Christs diuinitie, they inuade by persecution, and all the wittie tortures that malice or tyrannie could deuise, are now put in practice, for the torment of those professors; in so much that the hearts of their verie enemies, could not but thaw into pitie to heare the cries, but constancie of little children vnder the barbarous hands of their mercilesse tormentors. *Christianus sum, Christum verum Deum, credo, & adoro*, as the author in his *Historia tripartita de persequutione Vandalorum*.

Amb. 1. de fide, cap. 4.

This heresie now is full blowne, and at the growth; one Act more makes it ripe, and ready for the sickle. *Alexandria* is yet infected, and foule dregs of *Arrianisme* reigne not onely here, but in the neighbour Prouinces; In so much that *Alexander* (then Bishop) daily pestered with those damned innouations, on a Sunday, (for

(for ſo my *Antiquarie* tels me) earneſtly prayed that God would either take him away, leſt he ſhould be defiled with the like contagion, or that he would ſhew ſome miracle, either for the conuerſion or confuſion of the Heretique. Not long after, the deſires of the holy man were accompliſhed, and in ſuch a way of iudgement, that the relation would ſute better with a ring of Scauengers than a noble throng, his bowels burſt, as ſometimes *Iudas* did, *Et ſic finem adeptus eſt, in loco immundo & graueolenti*, his death was equally odious with his life, and that with the place hee died in, no ſad retinue or pompe of exequie to embalme him, no hearſe or winding ſheet, but his owne entrailes, and grau'd vp with excrements, in ſtead of earth, an end as odious as vntimely, as if it proceeded from the hand of vengeance, and not Fate. *Epiphanius.*

And ſo Saint *Ambroſe* dilates on it —*Non eſt fortuita mors vbi in ſacrilegio pari, pœnæ parile proceſſit exemplum, vt idem ſubirent ſupplicium, qui eundem Dominum negauerunt & eundem Dominum prodiderunt*—. It is no caſuall, but a deſtinated end, that in a like ſacriledge, there ſhould bee a like example of puniſhment, and ſo both meet in one way of ruine, which had denied and betrayed their Maſter. *1 de fide, cap. 5.*

I haue now brought this hereſie to her graue, but the funerall of this is the reſurrection of another, and the reintertainment of that of a third. No part of Chriſt (either in reſpect of his diuinitie or man-hood) but is the mint of a new hereſie, which (if I ſhould endeuour (here) either to confute or open) would proue an vndertaking fitter for a volume, than a diſcourſe; and for a Librarie, than a volume. It coſt the houres of an entire age, and the ſweat and elaborateneſſe of all the Fathers. Thoſe few ſands which are now in their conſtant courſe, will be runne out in the verie nomination of *Marcionites, Valentinians, Hebionites, Apollinarians*, and the reſidue of that curſed rabble, and ſo I ſhall be caſt vpon your cenſures, if

if not as I haue beene weake, yet as I haue beene tedious. I will then open the mouthes of verie Heathens, and they ſhall both ſpeake and confirme this truth, and no leſſe appoſe our aduerſaries than conuince them, an authoritie I know not how vnſauourie or vnſeaſonable to a diuided Auditorie, where a prophane quotation ſounds ſometimes as heatheniſh as a tradition, which in the verie name is cri'de downe as Aprocryphall and Romaniſh; but I muſt put that vpon the hazard, not eſteeming the froth either of popular cenſure or approbation.

Heathens indeed are little aboue the condition of beaſts, if that onely actuate a man which animates a Chriſtian, the ſoule of faith; yet if God pleaſe to caſt his pearles before theſe ſwine, wherefore hath hee made vs Lords ouer them, but to vindicate thoſe hallowed and pretious things from the hands of vniuſt poſſeſſors? *Præclara Ethnicorum dicta Theologica ab ijs, tanquàm iniuſtis poſſeſſoribus, in vſum noſtrum transferenda.* It is *Auguſtines* in his ſecond booke *De Doctrina Chriſtiana 4. chap.* Diuine truth in Heathen mouthes, is like the Iewels in Ægyptian hands, there wants no Alchymiſt to refine the metall, onely ſome diſcreeter Iſraelite to transferre the vſe: he that was brought vp at the feet of *Gamaliel*, preaching to the ignorant Idolaters of *Athens*, concludes againſt them from the mouth of their owne Poets, —τῶν γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν, as ſome of your owne Poets haue ſaid, *Acts* 17.28. Text enough to gaine, I ſay, not authoritie, but applauſe to his diſcourſe, and to conuince the Heathens ſhame, if not their faith. Diue with me a little farther into their ſecrets, and we ſhall find amongſt much *Hay* and *Stubble*, ſome *Gold* and *Pretious ſtones*, doctrines which want no truth to make them ſound, onely diuine authoritie to make them authentique. It was not impoſſible that the true light which ſhines on euerie man that commeth into the world, ſhould glimpſe into thoſe that *ſate in darkneſſe, and in the ſhadow of death*; For old

Sim-

Simplicianus in *S. Augustines* Confessions 8. Booke 2. Chapter, giues incouragement to a particular enquiry, and concludes in certaine bookes of the Platonists —*Deum insinuari, & eius verbum*—. And of this *God*, and the *Word*, the very Philosophers were not ignorant, for wee meet with a *Hermes*, and a —*Zenon*, stiling the maker & orderer of the Vniuerse—λόγον—*The Word*—which they inlarge with other attributes of —*Fate, necessity, God*— and what sauours a little of a heathenish relique—*Animum Iouis*—taking—*Iupiter*— in the sense that they doe *God*, as *Lactantius* in his 4. booke *de vera Sapient. cap. 9.*

But why doe we rob them of their maiden honour, and take their sayings vpon Tradition meerly? let them speake themselues in their peculiar and mother-tongue. *Numenius*, a famous Pythagorian (one, who twixt *Plato* and *Moses*, put no difference but of Language, calling *Plato-Mosen, Attica Lingua Loquentem*,—*Moses* speaking the Atticke Dialect) *Deus primus* (saith he) *in seipso quidem existens, est simplex, propterea quòd secum semper est, nunquam diuisus; Secundus, & tertius est vnus:* The first God is alwaies existent in himselfe, simple, indiuisible, the second and third one; and a little after, he calls this first God —*Creantis Dei patrem*, —*The father of the creating God.* Had they all adored what hee here acknowledged, a Trinity in vnity (so to be worshipped) I should then propose their precept not onely to be embraced, but their practice to be imitated. Search on, and loe that rich mine of Truth is not yet at her drosse, or bottome, for *Heraclitus* next, one who was wont to call *S. Iohn, Barbarian*, that Euangelist to whom belonged the Eagle, as well for sublimity of Stile, as Contemplation; he —*censet verbum Dei in ordine Principij, atque dignitate constitutum, apud Deum esse, & Deum esse; in quo quicquid factum sit, fuerit viuens, & vita, & ens, tum in corpora Lapsum, carnemque indusum, hominem apparuisse, ostendens etiam tunc naturæ suæ magnitudinem*: Harke

how the *Frog* chaunts like the *Nightingale*, (It is *Maximilians*, *Ethnici audiendi, non tanquam Philomela, sed Ranæ*) and curiously counterfeits her in euery straine? How closely this obscure Heathen followes not onely the Gospels truth, but the phrase too? *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and was God, all things were made by him, euery liuing Creature, life, and thing, then this Word was made flesh, and appeared man*, and *euen then shewed the glory of his nature*. How sweetly he warbles with his Barbarian, as if by an easie labour of Translation hee had bereft him both of Truth and Eloquence? I maruaile not now at that Testimony of *Basil the Great*, vpon those words, *In principio erat verbum*——*Hoc ego noui, multos etiam extra veritatis rationem positos*—I haue knowne many (saith he) and those put without the pale and list of diuine Truth, men meerly secular, aduancing and magnifying this peece of Scripture, and at length bold to mix it with their owne decrees and writings. And *S. Augustine* seconds it with an instance,—*Quidam Platonicus*,—A certaine Platonist was wont to say that *the beginning of S. Iohns Gospell was worthy to be written in letters of gold, and preached in the most eminent Churches and Congregations*, in his 10. book *de Ciuitate Dei*, *c.* 29. O the diuine raptures and infusions that God doth sometimes betroth to his very enemies! who can but conceiue that as the very worst of men haue knowledge enough to make them inexcusable; so the best of Heathen had enough to make them Saints, were their faith that he should be their Sauiour, as great as their knowledge, that he was the Sonne of God. With what rich Epithetes they bedecke and crowne him.—*Mentis Germen, Verbum Lucens, Dei Filius*, (it is his saying, who (I know not by what search) found out almost all Truth, *Mercurius Trismegistus*) *the mindes blossome, the word that gaue light, the sonne of God*. What else did *S. Iohn* adde, but that the word *was* light? And *S. Augustine* giues

giues this farther testimony of that heathen, that he spake many things of Christ in a propheticke manner—*eadem veritate, licèt non eodem Animi affectu*— with the same truth the Prophets did, but not with the same affection —*pronunciabat illa Hermes-. Dolendo, pronunciabat hæc Propheta, Gaudendo*—in his 8. booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, 23. chapter. And why should we barre some of their Philosophers of a propheticke knowledge, when a Poet shall fill his cheekes with a—*Chara Deum Soboles, Magnum Iouis incrementum*—? And if wee looke backe to those Oracles of old, the *Sybills* sacred Raptures, wee shall finde them more like a Christians Comment, than a Heathens Prediction.

Tunc ad mortales veniet, mortalibus ipsis
In terris similis, natus Patris omnipotentis
Corpore vestitus—

Whereof if wee enquire a little into the originall, S. *Augustine* will tell vs that the Greeke copies giue vs, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς υἱὸς Θεοῦ σωτὴρ—*Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, the Sauiour*; and it is not only probable, but euident, that the Gentiles had a knowledge of Christ as hee was the *Word*, as it appeareth by that of *Serapis* vnto *Thulis, King of Ægypt*. And it is strangely remarkable, what wonderfull Titles and Inscriptions, the *Platonists* dedicate to his name and memorie, with which (as with a wreath and Lawrell) they girt & beautifie his Temples,-*Dei verbum, Mundi Opifex, Idæa boni, Mundi Archetypũ, Moderator, Distributor, Imago primi entis, rationalis Creaturæ exemplar, Pastor, Sacerdos, Vlna humens, Lux, Sol, Cœlumque candens, mentis germen Diuinæ, Verbum Lucidum, Filius primogenitus, primi Dei semper viuentis Vmbra, Vita, Splendor, Virtus, Candor lucis, Character substantiæ eius*, and the like, which could not but flow from a heart diuinely toucht, and a tongue swolne with inspiration, as *Rosselus*

In oration. contra Arrian.

Θεὸς πρῶτα, &c.

tels vs in his *Triſmegiſti Pimandrum*, 1 booke, 107. *page*. For theſe and the like ſayings, ſome of the ancient Fathers haue coniectured that *Plato* either read part of diuine ſtorie, or whilſt he trauelled in Ægypt, had a taſte of ſacred truth, out of the ſayings of the Hebrewes by an *Amanuenſis*, or interpreter; For then many of the Hebrewes (the Perſians reigning) wandered in Ægypt.

Moreouer, *Ariſtobulus* the Iew, who flouriſhed in the time of the *Machabees*, writing to *Ptolomie Philometora*, *King of Ægypt*, reports that the *Pentateuch* before the Empire of *Alexander* the Great, and the *Perſian* Monarchie was tranſlated out of Hebrew into Greeke, part whereof came to the hands of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*; and he is after peremptorie, that the *Peripateticks* out of the bookes of *Moſes*, and the writings of the Prophets drew the greateſt part of their Philoſophy, and it may ſeeme ſtrange what the Iewiſh Antiquarie traditions of *Clearchus* (the moſt noble of that Sect) who in his firſt —*De ſomno*— brings in his Maſter *Ariſtotle* relating that he met with a certaine Iew, a reuerent and a wiſe man, with whom he had much conference concerning matters both naturall & diuine, and receiued from him ſuch a hint and ſpecialty of choicer learning wch did much improue him in his after knowledge, eſpecially in that of God, as *Ioſephus li. 1. contra Appionem*, & *Euſebius* in his 11. *de præparat. Euangelica c. 6. Clement. Alexandrin. 5. Stromaton*.

And thus I haue at length (though with ſome bloud and difficultie) trauerſed the opinions of the ancient, and ſhewed you the errours of primitiue Times in their fouleſt ſhapes. I haue opened the wiles and ſtratagems of the aduerſarie, and how defeated by the chariots of *Iſrael*, and the horſemen thereof; what Bulwarkes and Rampires the Fathers raiſed for propugning of Chriſts diuinitie, and how beſieged by curſed hereſies, with what ſucceſſe, what ruine.

Let vs now returne where we began, and place Chriſt where

where we found him, before *Abraham*, before the world, where (me thinkes) he now ſtands like a well-rooted tree in a rough ſtorme, where though winds blow on him ſo furiouſly, that hee is ſometimes forced to the earth (as if he were meerely humane) yet he bends againe, and nods towards Heauen (to ſhew that hee is diuine, and but a plant taken thence grafted in our *Eden* here) where though toſt vp and downe with blaſts of Infidelitie, yet when the enuy of their breath is ſpent (as we ſee a goodly Cedar after a tempeſt) he ſtands ſtrait, vn-rent, as if he ſcorned the ſhocke of his late churliſh encounter, and dared his bluſtring Aduerſarie to a ſecond oppoſition.

Gloria in excelſis Deo.

FINIS.

MOSES and AARON
OR
THE AFFINITIE OF
Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticke power.

A SERMON INTENDED
for the Parliament held at Oxon,
Auguſt. 7. 1625.

But by reaſon of the ſudden and vnhappy diſſolution, then, not preach't, but ſince vpon occaſion, was; at S^t. MARIES in *Oxford*, the 26. of *February*. 1625.

BY
Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and
Fellow of WADHAM *College* in
OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

TO MY MVCH DESERVING FRIEND AND BROTHER, FRANCIS GODOLPHIN, *Eſquire*, *This.*

MY DEARE SIR,

Hil'ſt others declaime (*too iuſtly*) *againſt the* dull charities *of the* times, *and the* coldneſſe of affection *in their* Allies *and* bloud, *I cannot but magnifie* their *worth*, *in* you, *where I haue met a* vertue, *ſcarce exampled by a ſecond*, friendſhip in a Brother. *I thought it a high iniuſtice to ſmoother ſuch a* miracle, *and therefore haue heere ſet it vpon*

record; *that, as the* age *may blush at her other* prodigies, *so glory heere, that she hath (at length) brought forth* one *who hath not lost either his* Nature *to his* alliance, *or* pietie *to his* Countrey. *A goodnesse seldome paralell'd in these dayes of ours, these degenerate dayes of ours, when we may finde a more* naturall *correspondence, a liuelier heat of affection, amongst those of sauage and barbarous condition, than in the bosome of our owne* Tribe *and* Nation. *But I may not taxe, when I am to salute, 'tis out of the roade of* gratulation; *this is intended so, A meere* declaration *of my* thankfulnes *for all those your* noble *Offices of a* reall Brotherhood, *which though I haue not* power (*as yet*) *to* satisfie, *I shall haue euer* will *to* acknowledge, *and in that* loialty *I persist,*

Your most respectfully engag'd,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

Moſes and Aaron

Or

The affinitie of Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticke power.

EXOD. 4. 12.

Goe, and I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.

HOw ſtrangely God compaſſes what he proiects for his, by the hands of an obſcure Agent? *Iſrael* hath been long enough vnder the groanes of *Ægypt*, it ſhall be now vnyoakt from that heauie ſeruitude; and this muſt be done by no trodden meanes, or ordinarie inſtrument: But one that *Iſrael* and *Ægypt* too ſhall ſtand amaz'd at to ſee in ſuch a power of ſubſtitution, *A ſhepherd*. *Moſes* a feeding Cap. 3. v. 9, 10.

Cap. 3. 8.

ding his fathers flocke not farre from *Horeb*, the mountaine of the Lord, when ſuddenly a voice doth at once aſtoniſh and inuite him, *Moſes, Moſes.* 'Tſhould ſeeme the affaires were both of neceſſitie and diſpatch, when the perſon to bee imployed was thus preſt by a double ſummons: what ſhall hee doe now? *His flocke* muſt bee *left with Iethro in Midian*, and he ſhall *to Court*, there to ranſome an engag'd and captiu'd Nation, from the ſhackles of a Tyrant; A ſimple deſigne for one ſeaſon'd in the courſe conditions of an *Hebrew* and a *Midianite*: Men knowne more by the largeneſſe of their folds, than any eminence for matters of ſtate, moſt of them being herdſmen, or ſhepherds. But ſee how God will extract wonders out of improbabilities, and miracles out of both: *Moſes* ſhall firſt ſee one, & then do many. *Behold an Angell of the Lord in a flaming fire in a buſh, the buſh burned* (ſaith the Text) *and the Buſh was not conſumed.* A viſion as ſtrange as the proiect he is now ſet vpon, and doth not ſo much take, as ſtagger him. That it burned and conſumed not, rauiſhes his eies only, how it ſhould burn & not conſume, his intellectuals; So that he is now doubly entranced, in the ſenſe, & in the thought. But there is more of myſterie inuolu'd here than the Prophet yet dreames of or diſcouers. God in his affaires requires both heat & conſtancie: men of cold and languiſhing reſolution are not fit ſubiects for his imployments, but thoſe which can withſtand the ſhocke of many a fierie triall; they whoſe zeale can burne cheerefully in the ſeruices of their God, and not conſume. *Moſes* therefore ſhall now to *Pharaoh*, with as many terrours as meſſages. Ten times hee muſt bid the Tyrant let *Iſrael* goe: euerie Iniunction ſhall find a repulſe; euerie repulſe, a plague; and euerie plague, a wonder. Somewhat a harſh embaſſie to a King, and cannot be welcom'd but with a ſtorme, whoſe diſpoſition is as impatient of rebuke, as not inur'd to't. Thoſe eares which haue beene ſleekt hitherto with the ſupple dialect of

Cap. 3. 1.
Cap. 3. 4.
Cap. 4. 18.
Cap. 2. 17.
Cap. 3. 2.
Cap. 3. 3.
Cap. 5. verſ. 6, 7, 8, 9.

of the Court, (that oyle of Sycophants and Temporizers) will not bee rough't now with the courſe phraſe of a reproofe, much leſſe of menacing. There's no dallying with the eye of a Cockatrice; I am ſure none, wᵗʰ the paw of a Lyon; Ruine ſits on the brow of offended Soueraigntie, each looke ſparkles indignation, and that indignation, death. *Moſes* is now ſtartled at the imployment, and begins both to expoſtulate and repine. —*Who am I that I ſhould goe vnto Pharaoh? I am not eloquent, but of ſlow ſpeech and of a ſlow tongue*—? Good Lord! In a Prophet what a peece of modeſtie with diſtruſt? will God employ any whom hee will not accommodate? Hee hath now thrice perſwaded *Moſes* to this great vndertaking. The other as often manifeſts his vnwillingneſſe by excuſe, as if he would either diſpute Gods prouidence, or queſtion his ſupply. Wee finde therefore this diffidence check't with a new inſinuation of rectifying all defects. —*Who hath made mans mouth, or who makes the dumbe, or the deafe, or the ſeeing, or the blinde, haue not I the Lord?* Why ſhould any further ſcruple or doubt aſſaile thee? I that am the God of the *Hebrewes* will protect thee; let no wauerings of *Iſrael*, or terrours of *Ægypt* any way diſmay thee: particular infirmities in thine owne perſon I will mould anew to perfection, or if thoſe vacillations and ſtutterings of the tongue yet diſhearten thee, *Loe Aaron the Leuite is thy brother, I know that he can ſpeake well, take him with thee, and this rod too*, wherewith thou ſhalt doe wonders, as dreadfull as vnpattern'd. Deliuer *Pharaoh* roundly my commands, if hee will not vndeafe his eare vpon the firſt Alarum, I will bore it with my thunder. Why ſtandeſt thou then any longer ſo diuided? *Goe now, and I will bee in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay*—.

Cap. 3. 11.
Cap. 4. 10.
Cap. 4. 10.
Cap. 14. 14.

Moſes is diſpach't now, hath his Commiſſion ſeal'd, each particle of his meſſage punctually deliuered him,

Diuiſion.

wherein (as in all ſecular and ſubordinate Embaſſies) we finde *a Command, a Direction, and a Promiſe.* The *Command, Goe*; The *Promiſe, I will be in thy mouth*; The *Direction, Teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.* So hee that is ſingled out to any ſeruice of his God for the aduantage of his Iſrael, muſt not giue back or wauer, *Goe*—. If a willing obedience ſecond this command, God promiſes to aſſiſt, *I will bee in thy mouth*; if there, be not daſh't at the ſlowneſſe or vnprouidedneſſe of thy ſpeech, *I will teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.* Once more is there a retired worth, which deſires to ſit downe to obſcuritie, and ſeemes vnwilling to the publike ſeruices of his God, heareſt thou not this *proficiſcere* from Heauen? *Goe.* But haſt thou once vndertooke them? bee not diſcourag'd, here's an—*aperiam*, too—. *I will be in thy mouth*; but am I welcom'd there with reuerence and awe? ſpeake boldly then, for, *Ego inſtruam, I will teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay*—, *Goe then.* But let's firſt cleare the paſſage. 'Tis not my intent to ſhew you *Moſes* here in the ſtormes and troubles of the *Court* and *State*, but of the *Church.* I may not bee too buſie with the *riddles* and *Labyrinth's* of the two firſt; the times are both rough and touchie, I will onely ſhew you a farre off, how this *Proteus* and that *Camelion* varie both their *ſhape* and *colour.* *Moſes* was indeed fortie yeeres a *Courtier*, and the better *part* of his life a *Stateſman*, yet he was a *Prieſt* too (and ſo I follow him) if you dare take the authoritie of Saint *Auguſtine*, who though in his ſecond booke on *Exod.* 10. *quæſt.* giues *Moſes* barely *Principatum*; and *Aaron, miniſterium*; yet in his Commentaries on the 98. *Pſal.* he thus interrogates, *Si Moſes Sacerdos non erat, quid erat? numquid maior Sacerdote?* and the ſweet Singer of *Iſrael*, puts *Samuel* among them that *call vpon Gods name*, and *Moſes* and *Aaron* amongſt the *Prieſts*, *Pſal.* 99. 6.— I haue now remou'd all rubs and obſtacles, the way is ſmooth and paſſable, what ſhould then hinder *Moſes* any longer, *Goe*,—.

Aug. lib. 2. *in Exod. quæſt.* 10.
Aug. in Pſal. 98.

Com-

Pars 1.

Command and *obedience* are the *body* and *ſoule* of *humane ſociety*, the *head* and *foot* of an *eſtabliſh't Empire*. *Command* ſits as *Soueraigne*, and hath three Scepters, by which it rules, *Authority*, *Courage*, *Sufficiency*.

Obedience, as 'twere the *ſubiect*, and beares vp it's allegiance with three pillars, *neceſſitie*, *profit*, *willingneſſe*. Sometimes *Command* growes impetuous and rough, and then 'tis no more *Soueraigntie* but *Tyranny*—. Againe, *Obedience*, vpon diſtaſte, is apt to murmure, and growes mutinous, and ſo 'tis no more a *ſubiect*, but a *Rebell*; where they kiſſe mutually, there is both ſtrength and ſafety; but where they ſcold and iarre, all growes to ruine & combuſtion. And this holds not onely in matters Ciuill, but in thoſe more ſacred. *Command* frō heauen preſuppoſes in vs an obedience no leſſe of neceſſity, than will, and in God, infallibility both of power, and incouragement. Faintneſſe of reſolution, or excuſe, in his high deſignments, are but the Teſtales of a perfunctory zeale, howeuer they pretend to baſhfulneſſe, or humility. *I cannot ſpeake Lord*, or, *I am vnworthy*, were but courſe apologies of thoſe that vſed them, when God had either matter for their emploiment, or time; And the *Quis ego Domine?* of *Moſes*, here, findes ſo little of approbation, that it meets a checke; the Text will tell you in what heat and tumult, with an —*Accenſus furor Iehouæ*, the anger of the *Lord* was kindled againſt *Moſes*, and it ſhould ſeeme, in ſuch violence, that *Abulenſis*, after much trauerſe and diſpute, makes that tergiuerſation of his litt'e leſſe than a *mortall ſinne*, & ſome of the *Hebrewes* haue ſtrangely puniſh't it, *with the loſſe of Canaan*, perſwading vs, the maine reaſon why he came not thither, was his backwardneſſe in obeying this —*proficiſcere*, *Goe*. But that's a *Thalmudicall* and wilde fancie, fitter for ſuch giddy enrolements, than the eares of a learned throng. And as *Moſes* may not but obey when God layes his command on him, ſo hee muſt not *goe* without it. *Matthew* muſt be *called* *from*

Ier. 1.

Rom. 1.
Exod 3.

Cap. 4. 4.

Toſt. in cap. 4. Exod.

Perer. in Exod.

Matth.9 9. Galat.1.5. *from his receipt of cuſtome*; & he is not honor'd with a true Apoſtleſhip, who wants his —*vocatus ſicut Aaron*. That of God to the Pſeudo-prophets, was a fearefull Irony, —*I ſent them not, but they ranne*—, voluntaries (it ſhould ſeeme) finde here neither countenance, nor entertainement, but whom God hath preſt and ſealed to this great warfare; yet the other notwithſtanding, in the field, and ſeaſoned once in battell, the retrait is more dangerous, than the aduenture.

Ierem.14.

Eſay cap.6. 5 8 5 7 We finde *Eſay* more actiue and forward than any of the *Prophets*, & yet that ſpontaneouſneſſe not chid; who (as if he would anticipate the care and choiſe of God in his owne affaires) makes a haſtie tender of his ſeruice, with an —*Ecce ego, mitte me*; yet he had his former conuulſions, and pangs too of feare and diffidence; *Woe is mee, for I am a man of polluted lips*. But ſee how God hammers and workes what hee intends to file, either in perſon, or by ſubſtitute? an *Altar* muſt be the *Forge*, and a *Seraphin* the *workman*, who with his *tongs ready*, and *his coale burning*, ſhall both *touch* thoſe iniquities, and *purge them*, and then, and not till then, *heere am I, Lord, ſend me*. As therefore to ſtand ſtill, when God ſends out his *proficiſcere*, argues a ruſty and ſullen lazineſſe, ſo to runne when he ſends not, arrogancy and preſumption. That zeale is beſt qualified, which hath the patience to expect God's *ſummons*, and then the boldneſſe to doe his errand.

Aquin.2ª.2æ. qu.185.art.1. The Schooleman in his 2ª. 2æ. 185. *queſtion*, being to deale of religious perſons, ſtraines not the *Myter* from his diſcourſe, but moderates the *quære* by diuiding it, and thinkes to take away *all* ſcruple by making *two*, *whether it be lawfull to deſire Eccleſiaſticall honour* (Epiſcopall he Epithetes) *or to refuſe it being enioyned? Gregorie de Valentia* (his *Amanuenſis* here) turnes the perſpectiue from the *obiect* vpon the *Agent*, viewing as well the *partie deſiring* as the *thing deſired*, where, though hee deſcrie

Greg.de Valen. in loc. Aqui.diſt. 10.q 3.par.2.

height

height of ſufficiency in perſonall endowments: one *Cap-A-Pe, in all points canonicall*, yet he allowes not *a bait for his eager appetite to feed on*; a diſopinion'd vnder-valued man may *not deſire it for the dignity*, nor he that's fortune-trodden *for the reuenue*. Be the perſon otherwiſe ne're ſo compleatly accommodated, yet the *irregularity in his appetite ſtrangles his other eminencies, and ſo he is (at once) vnworthy, and vncapable. Reaſon* and *conſcience*, will betroth *Honours* to *deſert*, which yet they *diuorce* from the *immodeſty* and *heat* of the deſire; for, if *ſuper-intendencie be in the appetite more than the office, 'tis preſumption. Aquinas* doth cenſur't ſo, a common practiſe of the Gentiles, reproou'd in the Diſciples; *Ye know their Princes* Quær. 1. Aquinas vt ſup. *loue to dominere*, Mat. 20. *if the honour be ſuperiour, 'tis ambition, and ſo meerely phariſaicall, —They loue the vppermoſt roomes at feaſts, and chiefe ſeats at Synagogues*, Matth. 23. If the *reuenue*, it allies to *coueteouſneſſe*, and differs from the ſinne of *Simon Magus* thus, he proffer'd money for the gifts, theſe couet the gifts for the money. Matth. 23.

On the other ſide, to reiect the *Ephod* wherewith authority would inueſt thee, checkes doubly the refuſer, in wayes of *charity, humility. Charity ſeekes no more her own, than her neighbours good*; now the charity we owe vnto our ſelues, prompts vs to ſearch out —*Otium ſanctum* (as *Auguſtine* phraſes it) a holy vacancie from theſe publikes cures, but that to the Church bindes vs to vndergoe —*Negotium iuſtum*, the impoſition of any iuſt employment, —*quam ſarcinam ſi nullus imponit, intuendæ vacandum eſt veritati, ſi autem imponitur, ſuſtinenda eſt propter charitatis neceſſitatem*; the Father in his 19. *de Ciuit. Dei, cap.* 19. Againe, *humility* tie's vs in obedience to Superiours, ſo that as often as we diſobey them we doe oppugne it, and this (in reſpect of God) is not *meekneſſe*, but *pertinacy*, —*Tunc ante Dei oculos vera eſt humilitas, cum ad reſpuendum hoc quod vtiliter ſcribitur præcipitur*, Quær. 2. Aquin. & Greg. vt ſup. Aug. 19. de Ciuit. Dei, cap. 19. Mag. Gregor. 1. pars Paſt. cap. 6.

cipitur, pertinax non eſt—, *Gregorie* 1. part of his Paſtorals 6. Chapter.

To auoyd then all occaſions of publike ſeruice for the Church, vnder a pretence of humilitie or recluſeneſſe, ſpeakes (too broadly) the delinquent, *refractarie*. Your *Anchoret* that digges his graue in *ſpeculation* meerely, and your Moale that is earth'd wholly in an affected ſolitarineſſe, are not liable ſo properly to *obſcuritie*, as *death*; ſuch *elaboratnes* tends not to *perfection*, but *diſeaſe*; & we finde an *Apoplexie*, and *ſleepe*, no leſſe on their *endeauours* than in their *name*; all knowledge is duſted with them, and 'tis no more a *nurſerie* of vertues, but a *Tombe*. And (indeed) ſuch *Silkewormes* ſpin themſelues into *Flies*, diſanimate, heartleſſe *Flies*, life neither for *Church* nor *Common-wealth*. The Laurell and honour of all ſecular deſignes, is the execution; and the happineſſe of thoſe ſacred ones, is not entail'd barely to the *knowledge* of them, but to the *fac & vines*. And that, not at *home* onely in thy particular intendments, but *abroad* alſo in thy ſeruices for the Church; ſo that hee that retraits at any Alarum or Summons of his God, for the common affaires of the Church, to hugge and enioy himſelfe in his ſolitarie ends, runnes himſelfe on the ſhelues of a rough cenſure, that of the Father to his *Dracontius*, —*Vereor ne dum propter te fugis, propter alios ſis in periculo apud Dominum.* To ſtand by, and giue aime onely, whil'ſt others ſhoot, and thou thy ſelfe no markman, proclaimes thy lazineſſe, if not thy impotencie. What a *nothing* is thy *arme?* thy *bow?* thy *ſhaft?* if not *practiſed*, not *bent*, not *drawne vp?* or if ſo glorious a marke, the *Church?* why not *leueld* at? either ſhe muſt bee vnworthy of thy trauell, or thine of her. If therefore this thy Mother implore thy aid (ſo *Auguſtine* counſels his *Endoxius*) on the one ſide, hand not with ambition; on the other, leane not to a lazie reſuſall, *weigh not thine owne idleneſſe with the neceſſities and greatneſſe of her burthens, to which (whiles ſhe is in trauell)*

Athan. in Epiſt. ad Drac. Epſc. fugient. part. 2. editio vltima.

Aug. epiſt. 81.

if

if no good men will adminiſter their helpe, Certè quomodò naſceremini non inueniretis; God muſt then inuent new wayes for our new birth: the Father in his 81. Epiſtle *ad Eudoxium.*

You ſee then our *Moſes* may not haſtily thruſt himſelfe vpon thoſe weightie deſignes without authoritie and commiſſion from his God, and yet once ſummon'd, not recoile; but thus hauing his *Congedeleere* and warrant from aboue, wee muſt now account him in the place of God, *Godindeed*, with a—*ſicut*—the Text tels vs ſo, thrice tels vs ſo, *God to Aaron, God to Iſrael, God to Pharaoh,* 'Twere then too high a ſacriledge, to rob him of any title or prerogatiue, which ſhould wait on the greatneſſe of ſuch a perſon. Let's giue him (what all ages haue) *Eminencie of place, Office, their Attendants, Honour, Reuenue.* I ſhall dwell my houre with the two firſt, with the latter only, *in Tranſitu*, and vpon *the by*, they being inuolued in the two former. And that I may punctually go on, I will touch firſt (where I ſhould) with the *Eminencie*—*Goe.*— Exod. 3. 4, 5.

Which as it was ſacred in the firſt enſtallment, ſo in the propagation moſt honourable to the times of *Heathens.* For *Tertullian* (ſpeaking of the magnificence and pompe which attended their ſuperſtitions) tels vs, that *their doores, and Hoaſts, and Altars, and dead, and* (what glorifies all) *their Prieſts were crown'd:* in his *Corona militis, cap.* 10. And the firſt *crowne* which the *Romanes* vſed, was the *ſpicea Corona*, giuen as a religious Enſigne, in honour of their *Prieſts*, —*Honoſque is, non niſi vita finitur, & exules etiam, captoſque comitatur*—ſayes my *Hiſtorian*, nought but death could terminate this honour, which was their companion both in *exile* and *captiuitie.* They wore the name of *Aruales Sacerdotes*, firſt inſtituted by *Romulus*, and *Acca Laurentia* his Nurſe, who of her twelue ſonnes hauing loſt one, he himſelfe made vp the number with that title. But here's not all, —*Terminorum ſacrorum, & finium, iurgijs terminandis præerant,*

Eminen. 1. par.

Tert. de Coron. militis cap. 10.

Plin. lib. 8. cap. 2.

Alex. ab Alex. lib. 1. cap. 26.

& interueniebant, they were the *peace-makers* of the time, and ſate as Arbitrators in matters of conteſtation betweene man and man, as the great Naturaliſt in the 18. booke of his Hiſtorie, 2. chapter. And who fitter for ſuch a morall office than the *Prieſt* ? an *honour* which theſe worſt of times allow him, though with ſome turbulencie, and indignation : *Moſes and Aaron, you take too much vpon you*, was the crie of a *Iew* once, ſo 'tis now, who would manacle and confine them onely to an *Eccleſiaſticke power*, and deueſt them quite of any *ciuill authoritie*, though *Moſes* here had both. But 'twas not without ſome ſhew of *myſterie*, that in the *robes of Aaron* (I inſtance now in him, leſt perchance they ſhould cauill with his brother *Moſes*) *there was a crowne ſet vpon the Miter*, moralizing a poſſible coniunction at leaſt of Miniſter and Magiſtrate in one perſon. And *Chytraus* hath a patheticall obſeruation from the Apoſtles ὀρθοτομεῖν — *diuide aright*, that the Metaphor was firſt taken from the manner of *cutting* or *diuiding* the *members of the hoſt*, Leuit. 7. where the *fat and kidneies were burnt as a ſacrifice to God, but the breaſt and the ſhoulder were giuen to the Prieſts* : the Allegorie carries with it both weight and maieſtie, here's a *breaſt* for *counſell*, and a *ſhoulder* for *ſupportation* in matters of *gouernment*. And no doubt in times of old (euen theſe of the Fathers) *the Sacerdotall power*, was at a great height, in equall ſcale with that of their honour, which was ſo eminent, that Saint *Ambroſe* rankes not the *Miter* with the *Diadem*, but in a *zealous Hyperbole* (pardon the Epithete) *preferres it*, and makes this comparatiuely to the other *as a ſparkle to a flame, or dull Lead to burniſht Gold*, in his *de dignitate Sacerdotali cap. 2.*

Plin. vt ſup.

Numb. 16. 3.

Exod. 29. 6.

2 Tim. 2.

Chyt. de ordin. miniſt. pag. 506.

Si Regum fulgori & principum Diademati inferius eſt quam ſi plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares, Ambr. ib. d.

I may not follow the Father in his *prieſtly Panegyricke*, 'tis too high, and borders too much on the diſcipline of the *triple crowne*, ſuch a crowne as ne're yet girt the temples of *King* or *Prieſt*, but of him that tramples on the

necke

necke of both; let ſuch inſolence inuade the right of *Potentates*, and ſpurne their *Crownes* and *Scepters* in the duſt, whil'ſt we ſeat our *Aaron* at the becke of *Moſes*, but the people too at that of *Aaron*: Let the *Prieſthood doe obeyſance*, and kiſſe the feet of *Soueraigntie*; but let not the *Laitie* turne the heele, and kicke againſt the ſacredneſſe of *Prieſthood*. *S. Auguſtine* vpon theſe words of God to *Moſes*, — *Tu eris illi in ijs quæ ad Deum*, — *He ſhall be to thee in ſtead of a mouth, and thou ſhalt be to him in ſtead of God*, ſeemes entranc'd a while, and bringing them to the ballance, and weighing preciſely euery ſcruple, cries out, *Magnum Sacramentum cuius figuram gerat*, as if *Moſes* were a *medium betweene God and Aaron, and Aaron betweene Moſes and the people*. The morall is plaine, *Soueraigntie ſtands betweene God and the Prieſthood, and the Prieſthood betweene Soueraigntie and the people*. Howeuer the Ceremonies due to either heretofore, in matters of Inſtaulement, ſtood not at ſuch *enmitie* as we can ſay *they differ'd*, they were both *anointed*, and both *crown'd*; and though the authoritie were vnequall in reſpect of *place*, yet not of *employment*, *Ye are full of power by the ſpirit of the Lord*, Micah 3. 8. And *Eliſha* could once tell the King, *Hee ſhould know there was a Prophet in Iſrael*, 2 King. 5. 8. And in matters of preſeruation God was as zealous for the ſafetie of theſe as them, — *Touch not mine anointed, and doe my Prophets no harme*, Pſal. 105.

Exod. 4. 16.

Aug. lib. 2. Exod. 10. quæſt.

But let not my *zeale* to the *Prieſt* diſpriuiledge my *alleagiance* to my *King*. I ſpeake not this to ſet vp *Moſes* in competition with *Pharaoh*, or riuall the dignitie of the *Prieſthood* with that of *Soueraigntie*; but to minde you in what luſtre it ſometimes ſhin'd, and how the times now conſpire to cloud that glory.

The dayes haue beene, when the *Laicke* was ambitious, not only of the *title* of a *Prieſt*, but the *office*: for *Euſebius* examples in many of them, who thruſting vpon Biſhops of primitiue times, *Statim concionandi munus obierunt*,

ebierunt, in his *lib.* 6. *cap.* 15. And *Tertullian* (ſpeaking of the inſolencies and taunts which the *Laity* then put vpon the *Prieſthood*) tells vs that they *iuſtified* their malice & iniuries to the *Prieſt*, by *vſurping the name*, or prophaning rather, —*Quum extollimur & inflamur aduerſus clerum, tunc omnes Sacerdotes, quia Sacerdotes nos Deo, & Patri fecit, quum ad perequationem diſciplinæ Sacerdotalis prouocamur, deponimus infulas, & pares ſumus*; in his booke *de Monogamia*, *cap.* 12.

Tert. lib. de Monog. cap. 12.

It ſhould ſeeme then the *office* and *name* paſt honourably thorow all ages, euen thoſe of *Infidels*, though the *perſon* were ſometimes expoſed to the perſecutions of the time, and ſuffered vnder the blaſphemies of vnchriſtian tongues; but now the very *title* growes barbarous, and he thinkes he hath wittily diſcountenanced the greatnes of the calling, that can baffle the *profeſſour* with the name of *Prieſt*. But theſe, whil'ſt they intend to wound, they honour vs, and wee account them no ſcarres, but *glories*. Let ſuch children mocke on the Prophet, the euent (I beleeue) will proue as horrid as that of old, will you tremble to heare it ſpoken? you may reade it then, and looke pale too, in 2 *King.* 2. 24.

Office 2.

May it pleaſe you now, turne your eyes from the *dignity*, and reflect vpon the *office*. The *office*, a taske indeed, ſuch a one as ſhould rather prouoke our *endeuours*, than *appetites*. *If any man deſire the office of a Biſhop* (let's awhile leaue the word *Prieſt*, and faſten vpon this, the authority may beare it out the better) *deſires a good worke*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. *Quia nomen operis eſt, non honoris* (as *Auguſtine* gloſſes it) 'tis a name of *worke*, not *honour*; a *worke* no leſſe fearefull, than laborious, no where better figur'd than by *Moſes*, here, to *Pharaoh*, repriuing *Iſrael* from *Egypt*, from which 'tis ſcarce any way differenc'd, but in the difficulty, and therein it exceeds the *type*; difficulty worthy the trauells of the beſt, were not thoſe labours ſhoulder'd

1 Tim. 3. 1.

Lib. 19. *Ciuit. Dei cap.* 19.

ſhoulder'd and thruſt on by vaine-glory. *Iſtæc cathedra cupientem ſe, & audacter expetentem, non requirit, ſed ornatum, ſed eruditum*—. So *Valentia* vpon *Aquine*.—This *chaire of Moſes* is no ſeat of ambition, but deſert, it hates either an intruder, or purſuer; He that gaines it by couetouſneſſe, or bold deſire, doth not poſſeſſe, but inuade it, and 'tis not ſo much his by right of inheritance, as vſurpation.

Greg. de Valent. in 2ª. 2æ. diſp. 10 q. 3. part. 2.

. Theſe honors fawne only vpon humble worths, men clad & harneſſed with double eminency, of life, of learning, thoſe whoſe vertues haue aduanc'd them aboue the ordinary leuell and pitch of popularity. Yet to theſe neither without this *proficiſcere* — to *Moſes, Goe. Clemens* in his firſt Epiſtle, will perſwade you: 'tis *the concluſion of Saint Peter*. *Auguſtine* goes further, —*Locus ſuperior ſine quo populus regi non poteſt, etſi adminiſtretur vt decet, tamen indecenter appetitur*—. Suppoſe the man worthy of this place of *Eminency*, and comes home in matters of *adminiſtration*, yet he is to blame in thoſe of *appetite*, for the *deſire* laies open his *vnworthineſſe*, and the Schoolman will not flatter him, but concludes it plainely for *a mortall ſin*. And if we may gueſſe at the child by the parent, it beſt countenanceth *leuity*, or *arrogance*, neuer read to be the proper ſeeds of any vertue. Notwithſtanding this *deſire* (ſometimes) comes not within the compaſſe of preſumption, if the *worke* be the obiect of our appetite, and not the *honour*, or, if the *honour*, not the *reuenew*, —*Appetere celſitudinem Epiſcopalem, non eſt ſemper præſumptio, ſed Appetere Epiſcopatum, ratione celſitudinis, appetit enim celſitudinem, ſupra dignitatem*—*Gregory* will haue it ſo. Howeuer, if it pleaſe you to glance on my former quotation from the Apoſtle, 'twill not ſo much whet your appetite, as grauell it; for firſt *Beza* limits the deſire, *If any man deſire?* and 'tis not meant —*de ambitu*— of the appetite, or ambition to get the See, but *de animo*, of the earneſt deſire to benefit the Church, or admit

Lib. 19. de Ciuit. Dei, cap. 19.

Greg. de Valen. vt ſupra.

Part. 1. Paſtor. cap 8.

1 Tim. 3. 1.

Beza in locum.

mit the words will carry that interpretation, yet the commendation which is annexed truces with the *worke*, not the *deſire*, —*Bonum opus deſiderat*—, not —*benè deſiderat*—, though it be good what he deſires, yet hee doth not well to deſire it. Men vnworthy of what they ſue for, onely becauſe they ſue for it. And this in Primitiue times hath occaſioned in many no leſſe a modeſtie than vnwillingneſſe in thoſe ſacred vndertakings, when the Fathers, with a kind of reluctancie and feare, were towed on to theſe high imployments. Nay ſome, whether through maieſtie of the place, or roughneſſe of the times, or guilt of their owne weakneſſe, haue panted and breath'd ſhort in their deſires to this great enterpriſe, and at length exchang'd the honour for an exile. *Nazianzen* flies into *Pontus*, *Draconſtius* into the skirts of *Alexandria*: and it is tradition'd me by *Aquinas*, (and he quotes Saint *Ierome* for it) that Saint *Marke cut off his thumbe, Vt Sacerdotio reprobus haberetur* — They are the Schoolemans owne words in his 2ª. 2æ. *queſt.* 185. *Artic.* 1. But 'twill not be amiſſe here to take Saint *Ambroſe* — *quamuis notandum* — with vs; that theſe things were done in the Churches great extremities, when he that was — *primus in presbyterio*, was — *primus in Martyrio*. 'Twould require the temper of a braue *reſolution*, and a better *zeale*, to *deſire* this *Bonum opus*, when 'twas made the touchſtone and furnace of mens faith and conſtancie, not only in leading others to the ſtake, but their own ſuffering where they were to be a voluntary *Holocauſt*, and ſacrifice to the Church, there to remaine a monument of their *Religion*, and others *tyrannie*. 'Tis true, Hiſtories haue furniſht vs with examples of ſome which haue renounc't an Empire, and (which is ſtrange) a Popedome; *Dioclesian* did one, and *Celeſtinus*, t'other. The times (we may ſuppoſe) were bluſtring, and the reuenewes thin at *Rome*, when the honor of the chaire was at once not deſir'd and ſcorn'd. No proiect now vnſifted, no ſtratagem vndig'd for;

Greg. Naz. in præfat. Apol. Athan. in epiſt. ad Dracont. Epiſc. ſug. vt Gloſſ. in prim. Euang. Marc.

Part. 2 paſt. c. 3.

for; no reach of policie vnfathom'd for the compaſſing of that great *See*, though by ſiniſter, though by deuilliſh attempt, nay, that's the chiefe engine by which it works. *Tiberius* could once tell a Prince of the *Celts*, that *Rome had a ſword for her conqueſt, not an Apothecaries ſhop*; now they are both too little; *Sword, and poyſon, and maſſacre, and piſtoll, and knife, and powder*, for the purchaſe (or at leaſt the ſtrengthening) of the *Triple Crowne*.

And I would *Machiauell* had rendeuouz'd only in Ieſuited Territories, and not knockt at the gates of Proteſtant Dominions; 'tis to be fear'd he hath Factors neerer home, thoſe which not only know the backdoores to the Staffe and Miter, but are acquainted with the locke, which if they cannot force or picke, by the finger of policie or greatneſſe, they turne with that golden key, which at once opens a way to a purchas'd honour, and a ruine.

Ambition, whither wilt thou? nay, where wilt thou not? to the pinacle of the Temple for the glorie of the world, though thou tumble for it to thy eternall ruine.

The Greeke Philoſopher will beg of the Gods, that *he may behold the Sunne ſo neere, as to comprehend the forme, beautie, greatneſſe of it, and afterwards hee cares not if he burne*, as if there were no ſuch Martyrdome, as what *Ambition* fires. *Occidar modò imperet*—, was the reſolution of *Agrippina* for her *Nero*; but loe, how the euent crownes the vnſatiateneſſe of her deſires? He gaines the kingdome, and firſt dig'd out thoſe bowels which had foſtered him, and then that heart which was the throne of ſuch an aſpiring thought; crueltie ſhall I call it, or iuſtice, when the vaine-glorie of the mother was penanc'd with the vnnaturalneſſe of the ſon. Thus loftie mindes (furniſht with a ſtrong hope of the ſucceſſe of their deſignes) haue embark't themſelues into great actions, and propoſing humane ends, as ſcales to their high thoughts, haue bin wafted into ſtrange promotions, but after they haue (a while) ſpangl'd in that their firmament

Endoxus.

Tacit. Annals.

of honour, they become falling ſtarres, and ſo the ſucceſſe proues as inglorious as the enterpriſe was bold and deſperate. Wee haue ſeldome met with any eminencie that was ſudden and permanent: Thoſe which in their *dawne* of *Fortune breake* ſo gloriouſly, meet with a ſtorme at *noone*, or elſe a *clond* at *night*. The Sunne that riſes in a *grey* and *ſullen* morne, *ſets* cleereſt; and indeed *ambition* is too haſtie, and is hurried violently to the end it aimes at, without cautelouſneſſe and circumſpection to the meane; but humilitie hath a calme and temperate pace, and ſtoopes it along in a gentle poſture, yet at length attaines her marke, but ſlowly, as if it went vnwilling to honour, and ſlighted thoſe proffers which others ſue for. *Ieunie Scipio Africanus and Marcus Portius* (you know whoſe 'tis, *Traianus* to *Plutarch*) *more for contempt of offices, than the victories they haue wonne, becauſe a Conquerour for the moſt part is in Fortunes power, but the contempt of offices liu'd in prudence.* Will you heare the paraphraſe? *Tacitus* giues it, *Sapientibus cupido gloriæ nouiſſima, exuitur*—. Wiſe men are ſo little in the driſt of honor that they loath the ſent, 'tis the vanitie they laſt put off, and there was a time when a modeſt refuſall of them was no by-way to them; for this ſhadow once followed, flies; but fled, followes—*primatus fugientem deſiderat, deſideratum horret*, ſayes the Father. 'Tis a tricke of primacie to fawne where 'tis not croucht to, but looke coy where it's ouer-courted, like ſome weather-cocks, which in a conſtant and churliſh wind beake fairely towards vs, but in a wanton blaſt turne taile.

Chryſ. Hom. 35. in Matth.

Hence it is, that in matters of authoritie and preheminence, pride hath for the moſt part the foile, humilitie the conqueſt; that ſtoopes baſely to the title, or the profit, and loſes either; this in a modeſt diſtance keepes aloofe, till worth inuite it, and at length gaines both: ſo that it is in wayes of promotion, as in ſome water-works, where one Engine raiſes it to make it fall more violently, another

another beats it downe that it might mount higher. The aduice then of S. *Peter* comes ſeaſonably here, —*Humble your ſelues vnder the mightie hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.* The words are not without their ſtrength of emphaſis, here is an —*humiliamini*—crown'd with an —*vt exaltet*, humble your ſelues, that he *may* exalt, as if *humilitie* were ſo neceſſarie a diſpoſition to preferment, that without it God might not exalt. But ſoft, Impoſtor; Thou which iuggleſt both with God & with the times, I call not that *humilitie* which is typ'd in the downefall of the looke, or the affected crindge and poſture of the bodie; but the knee of the inward man, wch the Wiſeman of old called, *The character of an holy ſoule, leading noble hearts ſlowly to the feaſts of friends, but ſpeedely to their ſuccour in calamities*; So that true meekneſſe is retinu'd with a double worth, *Charitie, Reſolution*; And the Philoſopher will tell you, 'tis *A vertue belongs to the couragious part of the ſoule, ſeated betweene two baſe extremes, Puſillanimitie, Arrogance.* No *Buffone*, and yet no *Baffler*, ſupporting ſometimes iniuries, not out of *cowardice*, but *patience*, allaying all tumults and inſtigations of the ſoule, to *reuenge* or *choller*, not expos'd to any violence of paſſion, but as *temperate* in diſpoſition, as *ſettled*; no waue in her deſigne, nor tempeſt in her thought; ſhe is all calme, not a wind ſo rough as to moue a ſtorme, either in her minde or action. But there is a *ſquint-eyed humilitie*, which caſts one way, and points another; the looke is deiected, ſtill groueling toward the earth, and with ſuch a dreſſe of mortification, as if it deſired no more of it, than would ſerue it for a graue; when the thought meaſures out a Dioceſſe, or labours on ſome greater proiect, which gain'd, the countenance is cheer'd, the bodie droopes not, and hee can now ſafely ieſt it with that old Abbot,

1 Pet. 5. 6.

Plato in Timæo.

Quærebam prius claues monaſterij,
Quibus inuentis, nunc rectus incedo.

And this ſubtill Nauigator neuer ſteeres as he ſets his compaſſe; the looke (haply) points you to a formall meekneſſe, but the thought ſtill coaſts vpon Ambition; yet this gluttonous *deſire* ſeldome anchors any where, but goes on ſtill with a full ſaile, till 't hath compaſſed the cape 'tis bound for,—*Habet hoc vitium omnis ambitio, non reſpicit*, The thirſt of Eminencie is headſtrong, and runs with a looſe bridle. 'Tis too ſo much below ſatietie, that it ſtill deſires, nay 'tis hungrie euen in ſurfet, and is ſharpen'd with the fruition of that it coueted; ſo that the birth of this title is but the conception of another, one honour roomes not the greatneſſe of his thought, our *Aaron* is not contented with an *Ephod*, *the rod of Moſes* would doe well too; Authoritie is ſleighted, diſcipline fallen, and corruption crept ſtrangely into the times, but —*O fortunatam me conſule, Romam.* What ſhould a mercifull worth doe with a Conſulſhip? 'tis a place for thunder, not clemencie, one that can ſtrike dead exorbitancie with the furrowes of the brow, and quell all vice with the tempeſt of a looke, one that can both vnſheath the ſword of authoritie, and brandiſh it, if not to *reformation*, yet to *ruine*; Thus he would make gouernment the ſtale both of his pride and Tyrannie, his proiects are loftily-cruell, ſo are his actions too, yet ſtill in a hot ſent of promotion, wch (if they want a trumpet from others commendation) ſhall borrow one from his owne, and ſo at once applaud his deſignes, and iuſtifie them. And indeed this titillation and itch of honour, if it once finde in the boſome of the receiuer a faire admittance, doth ſmoothly inſinuate and cheat vpon the powers of *Reaſon*. But when 'tis thorowly ſeated and enthron'd there, 'tis no more a gueſt but a Tyrant, and leaues the Poſſeſſor, not a Maſter, but a Captiue, and in this caſe, I know not whether Saint *Auguſtine* will pitie his *Aurelius*, or excuſe him,—*Etſi cuiquam facile ſit gloriam non cupere dum negatur, difficile eſt ea non delectari cum offertur*— in his

Seneca.

Iuuen. Sat. 1.

Aug. Epiſt. 64. ad Aurel.

64.

64. Epiſtle. Howeuer the Father ſeemes there to pleade onely for the delight in glories offer'd, not in the vniuſt proſecution of thoſe denied. But our *humble-arrogant* walkes not to his *temple of honour by that of vertue*, but inuaſion; and of ſome of his *colleagues*, the Fathers complain'd of old, *Qui nequaquam diuinitus vocati, ſed ſua cupiditate accenſi, culmen regiminis rapiunt potiùs, quàm aſſequuntur.* 'Tis *S. Gregories* line, and a ſtrong one too, ſuch a one as the Prophet once laſh't *Iudah* with, *Hoſ.*8.4. *They haue ſet vp a King, but not by me, they would make a Ruler, I knew it not.* Would you haue a more punctuall character, that of the Phariſees is moſt appoſite: They loue greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, *Rabbi, Rabbi, they binde heauie, &c. Matth.*23.7. *Deuout cruelty, Religious arrogance* (the Father will make it out) *Ob pietatem miſeri, ob ſplendorem infœlices*, in his Apologie, *Orat.* 1. *pag.*44.

*Greg.part.*1. *paſt.cap.*2.

Hoſ.8.4.

Matth.23.

Greg. Nazian.in præfat.Apol.edit. lat.

But I haue followed *Moſes* too long as a Magiſtrate, I muſt now a while as a Prieſt, and (what I exchang'd him for) a Biſhop. I ſhall not trauell farre, e're I deſcrie them both in a full careere, not far from the road I left the Magiſtrate, *Ambition*, but in a more couert, and vntrodden way; a way, howeuer doubly obnoxious to the paſſenger, becauſe *vnwarrantable*, becauſe *forbidden*; no authority for his progreſſe, no Letters patents from heauen, no *proficiſcere* from his God, *Goe*, yet he runnes, runnes without command, nay againſt it, trebly againſt it, againſt that, *non dominantes in clerum*—, feed, But not as Lords ouer Gods heritage, but enſamples, and againſt that *nolite magiſtri*, be not maſters, knowing you ſhall receiue the greater condemnation; nay againſt the direct prohibitiō of Chriſt to his Diſciple, —*Will there be any great among you*—, ἔσω ὑμῶν δοῦλος, *let him be your ſeruant.* 'Tis high time then this bladder were a little prickt, and this impoſtume launc'd. The body of the Church deſire's it, cries for't, ſhe is ſicke, ſicke euen vnto death, yet no

1 Pet. 5.3. Iames 3.1.

Matth.20.27.

Phyſitian in *Iſrael* will adminiſter, will? durſt not; We are growne ſo emaſculate, and palſie-ſtrucken, in waies of reprehenſion, the times ſo cenſorious, and in a luſt of noueltie, that this mount of God which was wont to ſend out lightnings and thunder to the Iſraelites below, is now growne a terrour to the *Moſes* that ſhall climbe it. And whereas the Pulpit hath beene formerly our Tribunal, to iudge and ſentence the lapſes and deprauations of the people, they haue made at length a bar for our owne arraignment, & their doome or mercy paſſes on vs, as we ſhall pleaſe or not pleaſe, but the verdict runnes much to the fancy of the cenſurer, which is commonly as barbarous and wilde, as he that giues it. Diſcourſes (and I am ſorry I cannot call them Sermons) are ſo ſleeke and wooing for applauſe, the eares of the times ſo coy, and pickt for accuratenеſſe, that to be plaine or home, entitles the ſpeaker to rudenes or Stoiciſme, each offer'd annotation is a barbariſme, and euery reproofe a libell. The hewing downe of a glorious vice, or the whipping of a ſinne in ſcarlet, *Præmunires* him that doth it, and he growes a tributarie and ſlaue to the frownes and diſhonours of the time, —*Vnde illa priorum —ſcribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet —Simplicitas?* 'Tſhould ſeeme Antinquity had a priuiledge of venting any thing that proceeded from the ſimplicity and truth of an honeſt breſt; But the thoughts of aftertimes were choak't with a—*non audeo dicere*—, ſincerity was turn'd bankrupt, and truth an exile, plaine-dealing, pertinacy, and zeale, madneſſe. But what, ſhall *Moſes* here be tongue-tied, ſhall hee ſtutter in the Meſſages of his God? —*Quid refert dictis ignoſcat Mutius annon?* Puſillanimity and deiectedneſſe of ſpirit in the imployment of thy Maker, is the baſeſt degree of cowardice; for my part, I haue ſet vp my reſolution with that of *S. Bernard*: *Quid me loqui pudeat, quod illis non puduit facere? ſi pudeat audire quod impudenter egerunt, non pudeat emendare quod libenter non audiant.*

Iuuen Sat. 1.

Iuuen. ibid.

Ad Fulc Epiſt. 2.

Let

Let me tell howeuer this childe of vaine-glory, that no touch of malecontentednesse, or ſpirit of inuection puts me on the iuſtice of theſe complaints; But that which the deuout Abbot calls, *patient anger, humble indignation*— euen that charity wherewith he catechiz'd his ambitious pupill, —*Quæ tibi condolet, quamuis non dolenti, quæ tibi miſeretur, licet non miſerabili, & inde magis dolet, quod cum ſit dolendus, non doles, & inde magis miſeretur, quod cùm miſer ſis, miſerabilis non es, vult te tuum ſcire dolorem, vt iam non habeas vnde dolore, vult te tuam ſcire miſeriam, vt incipias miſer non eſſe*, in his 2 Epiſtle, *Ad Fulconem*—. *Bern. ad Fulc. epiſt. 2.*

I neuer yet enuied the proſperity of any, I haue ſometimes wond'red at their waies of aduancement, and now haue trac't them, and finde a double ſtaire by which they aſcend, *2. ale. policie*, —(pleaſe you to tranſlate the termes you may, they will beare the chriſtning) *Faction, Simony*—, one of the chiefe meanes to gaine preferment, is, to crie downe the way to it. And he that will haue three liuings, muſt firſt preach violently againſt two. Non-reſidency muſt be a capitable & indiſpenſable crime. Pluralities damn'd, till they be either offer'd, or poſſeſt; when the fiſh is caught, what makes the net here then? away with it; the queſtion is ſtated on t'other ſide. *A double Benefice is but one liuing*, and that ſwallowed with as little reluctation, as 'twas but now thundred againſt, with all the bitterneſſe that the power of virulence could ſuggeſt; all's well now, the conſcience is at peace, and (what is ſtrange) the tongue too. Ere long, Non-reſidency hangs not in the teeth, but that is eaſily put off, for the honour of *Nicodemus*, —*To be a great Maſter in Iſrael*, —*Si violandum ſit ius, regnandi causâ violandum*, —what matter's it for iuſtice, ſo we gaine an Empire? or for equity, ſo we may inſult? The application needs no skrew, 'twill come home of it's owne accord to the murmurings of the guil- *Sueton.*

ty

ty boſome; In the meane time it much ſtaggers me, to ſee the reconcilement of two vertuous friends with a baſe aduerſary? a Saint in the countenance, an Angell in the tongue, with an Hypocrite at the heart.

Thus (beloued) vpon eaſie enquiry we may as well deſcrie an equiuocation in the looke, as in the word, and he that can art it handſomely in wayes of diſſimulation, hath not ſo much two tongues, as two faces; one lookes towards the world, where demureneſſe laies on her paint and colour, and this oftentimes deludes, ſhamefully deludes; the other towards heauen, and that's but courſely dawb'd in reſpect of it, for the eie of the Almighty cannot be dazell'd, that will deſcrie her furrowes and deformities, and at length giue her a reward anſwerable to the deſert, *her portion with the Hypocrite*, and there I leaue it.

This fruitleſſe and pernicious branch prun'd, and lopt off, t'other buds, no leſſe dangerous than that, and yet more flouriſhing, it ſprouts now to ſuch a bredth, and height, that it hath almoſt ouerſhadowed the body of the Church, in ſo much, that the Fowles of the aire lodge in the branches thereof. No Vulture or Rauen (emblemes of rapine and greedineſſe) though they deuoure and hauock it (ſo they haue a tricke of merchandizing) but neſts and perches there; nay ſcarce an Owle or Buzzard (now the metaphors of dulneſſe and ſimplicity) but houts and reuels there. Times more than calamitous, when the inheritance and patrimonie of the Church ſhall be thus leas'd out to *auarice* and *folly*, when thoſe her honours, which ſhe entailes vpon deſert, ſhall be heaped vpon a golden ignorant, who rudely treads on thoſe ſacred prerogatiues, without any warranted *proficiſcere* from God, or man. We finde *Moſes* trembling here, though encourag'd both by the perſwaſion and command of the Almighty,

Almighty, —*Et infirmus quiſq; vt honoris onus ſuſcipiat, anhelat, & qui ad caſum valdè vrgetur ex propriis, humerũ libenter opprimendum ponderibus ſubmittit alienis*—. 'Tis *Gregories* complaint in the 1. part of his Paſtorall, chap 7. *Greg. par. 1. paſt. cap. 7.*

Strange monument of weakneſſe! he that reeles vnder his owne burthen, ſtoopes to be oppreſt with the weight of others, and loe how hee tumbles to *a mortali ſinne*. (The Schoolemen doe ſtile it ſo) directly oppoſite to a paire of vertues, *Iuſtice, Charitie*; *vniuſt*, that the reuenues due to worth ſhould be pack't vpon bulckleſſe and vnable perſons, and *vncharitable* for him to vndertake the guidance and paſturing of a flocke, who was neuer train'd vp in the conditions of a Shepherd. Neither is he an enemie onely of a double vertue, but a companion of two ſuch ſinnes, which ſeeme to braue and dare the Almightie to reuenge on the prophaner, *Intruſion*, *Periurie*; firſt, in ruſhing on the profeſſion not legitimately call'd, then in purchaſing her honours. Yet there are, which can ſay with the Diſciple —*Maſter, we haue left all and followed thee*— our birth-right for the Church; left did I ſay? ſold it, exchanged the poſſeſſions of our Fathers (their vineyard) to purchaſe thine; and in ſtead of that penny which thou giueſt in lieu of a Crowne, and recompence to thy labourer, we haue giuen thouſands to be poſſeſt of one, and ſo thou not hiring vs, wee haue it. But heare S. *Bernard* ſchooling his *Eugenius*, and doe not ſo much bluſh as tremble, —*Quis mihi det, antequam moriar videre eccleſiam Dei ſicut in diebus antiquis quando Apoſtoli laxabant retia in capturam, non auri, ſed animarum! quàm cupio te illius hæreditare vocem cuius adeptus es ſedem? Pecunia tua tecum in perditionem*—. *O vox tonitrui!* The Abbot goes on deuoutly in the 238. Epiſtle *ad Eugenium*. *Greg. de Val. in 2ª. 2æ. Aquin. diſt. 10. q. 3. punc. 2.* *Bern. epiſt. 238. ad Eugen.*

If that Father be too calme and modeſt in his reproofe,

and cannot rouze bloud in the cheekes of the delinquent, S. *Ambroſe* ſhall ſtartle it, or elſe ſcare you with the viſion of *Simon Magus*, or *Gehazi*, —*Qui non timentes illud Petri, aut Elizei, Sacerdotalem defamant honorem, ſanctique Epiſcopatus gratiam pecunijs coemerunt*; in his *De dignitate Sacerdotali, cap. 5.*

Amb. de dign. ſacerd. cap. 5.

And indeed, in waies of ſufficiencie and worth, 'tis the —*ſi nil attuleris*— damp's the preferment; The age can inſtance in ſome, languiſhing and weake in their intellectuals, men without ſap or kernell, who (hauing their ſtore-houſe well fraught with that *white* and *red* earth) haue ſtumbled on the glories of the time, as if fortune would make them happie in deſpight of vertue; when others of Chriſts followers (were truely his Diſciples) are ſent abroad with their—*ite & prædicate*—*barefooted, without bag or ſcrip*, but their Commiſſion large —*Omni Creaturæ*—the wide world is their place of reſidence, no particular roofe to ſhelter them, or place of retirednelſe to lay their head in. Nay, ſome that haue ſeru'd a triple Apprentiſhip to Arts and Sciences, and ſpent in theſe our *Athens* the ſtrength of their time and patrimonie, men thorowly ballac'd for thoſe high deſignes, well kern'd both in yeeres and iudgement, lie mouldring for non-employment, and daſht for ſlownelſe of promotion; when others of cheape and thin abilities, men wirhout growth or bud of knowledge, haue met with the honours of aduancement, and trample on thoſe deiected bookewormes, which diſſolue themſelues into induſtrie for the ſeruice of their Church, yet meet neither with her pompe, nor her reuenue; nay, ſome that haue waſted their Lampe, and burnt their Taper to an inch of yeeres, hauing ſpent thoſe fortunes in the trauels of Diuinity, wch would largely haue accommodated them for more ſecular courſes, are enforced to retire themſelues to the ſolitarineſſe of ſome ten-pound Cure, and ſo ſpin out the

the remainder of their age in a diſcontented contemplation of their misfortunes; and (I pray God) not in murmuring againſt his Church. And this hath occaſion'd a maine reuolt and apoſtaſie of ſome from the boſome of this our Mother, where not finding ſhelter vnder thoſe wings which had bred them, flutter abroad in other Prouinces, & at length train'd vp to the *Romiſh* Lure; witnes thoſe many *Proſelytes* they haue gain'd from vs (not for matter of conſcience, but of fortune) who now ſteeping their pens in Wormewood, and whetting their tongues keener than any Razor, haue wounded & ſtruck thorow the ſides of their ſometimes Mother, to her great preiudice and diſhonour. Where the fault lies, he that hath but ſlenderly traffique't with the occurrences of the time, may iudge. Spirituall promotions are ſlow of foot, and come for the moſt part haltingly, or in a by-way. A calamity which beſt ages haue beene obnoxious to (thoſe of the Fathers) but by them cried downe with as great violence, as deteſtation. (*S. Ambroſe* will tell with what iuſtice, I cannot, it makes me tremble.) —*Videas in Eccleſia paſſim quos non merita, ſed pecuniæ ad presbyteratus ordinem prouexerunt, nugacem populum, & indoctum, quos ſi percunctari fideliter velis quis eos præfecerit Sacerdotes, reſpondent mox & dicunt, Epiſcopus, & as dedi, quod ſi non dederim hodie non eſſem*—. The words are broad enough in their Mother-tongue, they need no renderer, but an applier, if there be any guilt here ſo paſt bluſhing, that can doe it, let it thaw into horrour to reade on the Father in his —*de dignitate Sacerdotali cap. vlt.*

Ambroſ. de dign. Sacerd. cap. 5.

I haue beene too tedious here, you will ſay, too bold; but I haue done nothing but what *Moſes* ſhould, followed the commandement of my God, he bad me goe, I haue obeyed him, and he hath promiſed to aſſiſt me, for *he will be in my mouth*, that's my ſecond circumſtance, —*Goe, and I will be in thy mouth, and will teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay.*

And here I ſhould ſay more, but time hath ſilenc'd mee; a ſecond opportunitie may perfect all, in the meane time I ſhall beg Gods bleſſing for you, and your charitie to theſe. *To God the Father, &c.*

Gloria in excelſis Deo.
Amen.

FINIS.

NATVRES OVERTHROW, AND DEATHS TRIVMPH.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE FVNERALL OF SIR IOHN SYDENHAM, Knight, at *Brimpton*, the 15. of *December*. 1625.

BY

Humphry Sydenham, M^r. of *Arts*, and Fellow of WADHAM *College* in OXFORD.

Studeat quisque sic delicta corrigere vt post mortem non oporteat pœnam tolerare.
Auguſt. lib. de verâ & falsâ pœnitentiâ.

LONDON,
Printed for IOHN PARKER.
1627.

TO MY MVCH RESPECTED KINSMAN, IOHN SYDENHAM, Esquire, This.

SIR;

THere *is as well an* obedience *in matters of* desire, *as* command, *and with me a* request *hath euer beene of larger authority than a* Mandate. *You were pleas'd (formerly) to importune me for a* transcript *of this* Sermon; *now, for the* impression *of it*; *I haue* obeyed *you in either*; *but I feare 'twill lose some of the lustre in the* perusall, *which it found in the* deliuery. *I am not so happy a master of my* Pen, *as of my* tongue, *nor you (perchance) of your* eare, *as of your* eye, that *some tinckling fancies may (at once)* take *and* delude: this, *is more*

more subtle, and perspicacious, and will not be gull'd with the barke and shell of things, but pierces the very kernell, and the marrow; 'Tis sometimes with the eare, and eye of a Schollar, as with his fancy, and his iudgement; the one hath many a cheat put vpon it by weake impostures, which the other both discouer's, and reiects, and sometimes (as it doth here) pittie's. What you shall meet with of vigour, and solidity, entertaine, cherrish, 'tis yours; yours first in the birth, and occasion; now, in the protection, nourishment; what more languishing, & abortius, lay on the Authour, 'tis mine, like me, I'le father it; Howeuer, 'twill implore your charity, the charity of your faire interpretation, not of your beneuolence; which if you shall vouchsafe, you haue nobly rewarded the endeuours of

Your affectionate kinsman,

HVM: SYDENHAM.

NATVRES OVERTHROW, AND DEATHS TRIVMPH.

ECCLES. 12. 5.

Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners walke about the ſtreets.

MOrtalitie loues no deſcant; your plaine ſong ſutes beſt with blacks, that which is grauely ſet to cõpunction, ſorrow tun'd heauily, to ſighes & lamentations. What ſhould warbling aires with darted boſomes & vnbalmed hearts? what your quaint & youthfull raptures, when — *Mourners walke about the ſtreets?*

ſtreets? If *Zion* bee wept for, *harpes muſt bee hung vpon the willowes*; ſad obiects require furrowes in the cheeke, and riuers in the eye, and we then moſt honour the exequies of our friends, when wee embalme the deceaſed with our teares. Away then with eares wanton'd to looſer Sonnets; offend not with vnchaſte attentions theſe hallowed anthemes, here's broken harmonie; dirges as ſullen, as they are ſacred; panting and heart-broke elegies, ſuch as ſhould be rather groan'd, than ſung. Aske the *Preacher* (here) and hee will tell you, Eccles.12.41. —*The daughters of Muſicke are brought low, and the yeeres draw nigh, when we ſhall ſay, we haue no pleaſure in them.* He ſtorie's Verſe 2. of a *Sunne, and Moone, and Starres which are obſcur'd, & of clouds that returne not after raine*; as if the world were at her laſt pang and gaſpe, and ready for her funerall. Behold! the Verſe 3. *little world* is —*The keepers of the houſe haue trembled, the ſtrong men bowed themſelues, the grinders ceaſed, and thoſe that looke out of the windowes, darkned*; *the Almond tree doth flouriſh, and the Graſhopper is a* .3. *burden, and deſire ſhall faile.* —*Becauſe*— *Man goeth to his long home, and mourners walke about the ſtreets.*—

Diuiſion. Without any racke or violence to the words, they offer themſelues to this diuiſion. 1 the ſubiect, Man. 2 his condition, tranſitorie condition, expreſt by way of pilgrimage—, —Goeth—. 3 the *non vltra*, or *terminus ad quem*, of this his pilgrimage—. To his home- enlarged with an epithete —*Long home*—. 4 the ſtate and ceremonie it there meets with,—*And the mourners walk about the* *Pars* 1. *ſtreets*—. Of theſe in their order; firſt of the ſubiect, Man.

To dwell with circumſtances, and ouerſlip the maine, was euer an embleme of negligence, if not of weakneſſe; each Fabuliſt will tell you of a dog and a ſhadow, and what they moral. He that iangles (meerly) about nominals, where matters of realtie and ſubſtance fleet by, may ſpeake himſelfe a Grammarian or a Sophiſter, ſcarce a Diuine. Of the *name* of Man, its ſource and pedegree,

I liſt

I liſt not to diſcourſe; not an ignorance ſo vntaught, or vnderſtanding dull'd, but would foreſtall me, or ſhould I (by chance) meet with ſome intellectuals, ſo thin & tender, that could not (as it is a chance I ſhould) ſcarce an obiect but would be both your ſpokeſman, & remẽbrancer; yonder ſad ſpectacle, that earth, this ſtone would tell you --*Homo ab humo* from the ground *Adam ab Adamah*, frõ the earth, red earth, not that more ſolid part of it, but the brittleleſt, duſt, ſo the curſe runs,-*Duſt thou art, & to duſt thou ſhalt returne*-. In the *word* Man, in the various acceptation of the *word* Man, (wherin ſome ſyntagmatical Diuines haue vnprofitably toil'd) I le not curiouſly or impertinently trauell, but without any figuratiue or metaphoricall ſenſe, take it properly & literally, as the Text giues it me,—*Man*—, that is, a reaſonable liuing creature, or rather a reaſonable liuing ſoule, for ſo the Spirit of God Chriſtens it,—*The man was made a liuing ſoule, Gen. 2. 7.* and the ſame *periphraſis* the Apoſtle vſes too, 1 *Cor.* 15. The firſt man *Adam* was made —εἰς ψυχὴν ζωσαν, *in animam viuentem*, or *anima viuens*— —*A liuing ſoule, verſ.* the 45. yet in the 44. of the ſame Chapter, he calls him, σωμα ψυχικον—*a liuing body*. Either coat hee is iuſtly blazoned by, ſo wee giue the difference rationall, a difference ſo ſpeciall and proper, that it diuides him from any other; for reaſon is an intellectiue power, peculiar to man onely, and not communicable to a ſecond creature; by which λογίζεϑ, or (as the Schooleman termes it) *diſcurrit*; out of one thing he deduces another, and orders this, by that, both in method and diſcretion. Hence it is called λόγϑ, and the worke or office of it, λογισμὸς, *diſcurſus*—*propter animæ celeritatem*—, for the volubilitie and nimbleneſſe of the ſoule, by which it trauerſes & moues from one obiect to another, from effects to cauſes, and backe againe, from all things to euery thing, and from that (almoſt) to nothing. And as man was prerogatiu'd aboue others, in reſpect of perſpicacitie, ſo of Empire,

Amb. Pol. c. 35. Syntag.

Idem, vt ſupra.

Fer. in Geneſ.

and dominion, for whereas in other paſſages of creation, we find a kind of commanding dialect, —with a --*fiat lux*, and a --*producat terra*--. *Let there be light, let the earth*

Geneſ. 1.27.

bring forth; In that of *Adam*, words more particular, of deliberation and aduice. —*Let vs make man*—, Man, a creature of thoſe exquiſite dimenſions, for matter of body; of thoſe ſupernaturall endowments, of ſoule, that now *omnipotency* bethinkes it ſelfe, and will conſult. The priuy Counſell of *Sonne*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, is required to

Contra Philo.

the moulding and poliſhing of this glorious peece. *Angels* may *looke on*, and *wonder*; *touch*, or *aſſiſt*, they may not; no, not ſo much as to *temper* or *prepare the metall*.

Purch. Pilgrim.

Here is worke onely for *a Trinitie*. A taske for *Iehouah* himſelfe, for *Iehouah Elohim*, the *Father, by the Son, in the power of the Spirit*. No doubt, ſomewhat of wonder was a proiecting, when a compleat *Deity*, was thus ſtudying its perfection, ſomewhat that ſhould border vpon euerlaſtingnes, when the finger of God was ſo choicely induſtrious, and loe what is produced? *Man*, the maſter-peece of his deſigne and workmanſhip, the great miracle and monument of nature, not only for externall tranſcendencies, but the glory and pompe of inward faculties, ſtampt, and engrauen to the image of his God, through the righteouſneſſe of an immortall ſoule; beſides, a body ſo ſymmetriouſly compoſed as if nature had loſt it ſelfe in the harmony of ſuch a feature. *Man*, the abſtract, and

Gregor. Nazian.

modell, and briefe ſtory of the vniuerſe, —the *vtriuſque naturæ vinculum*—, the cabbinet and ſtore-houſe of three liuing natures, ſenſuall, intellectuall, rationall, the Analyſis and reſolution of the greater world into the leſſe, the Epitome and *compendium* of that huge tome, that great *Manuſcript* and worke of nature, wherein are written the characters of Gods omnipotency and power, framing it, diſpoſing it, all in it, to the vſe and benefit of *man*, of *man*, eſpecially, of *man*, wholly; other creatures paying him an awfull obedience, as a tribute, and homage due to

Beaſts. Angels. Men.

their

their commander in all things, ſo neere kinne to Deity, that *Melanchon* makes him a *terreſtriall tranſitory God:* hauing little to diuide him from a *-Numen-*, but that one part of him was *mortall*, and that not *created* ſo, but *occaſion'd*, miſerably occaſion'd, by *diſobedience*.

A little *forbidden fruit* (from the hand of a fraile creature) ſhall diſinherite it of an eternall priuiledge, and man is now thruſt out of the doores of his euerlaſting habitation for two pretty toyes, *an Apple, and a Woman*; howeuer *death kung not on the fruit*, (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*) *but the contempt*, which was not ſo *voluntary*, as *ſuggeſted*; fond man, that is thus cheated of an aſſurance of immortality, by a falſe perſwaſion that he ſhall be immortall, that-*eritis ſicut Dij*— hath dampt all; the Serpent perſwades him, —if he doe but *taſte*, hee ſhall be as *God*, when hee hath taſted, findes himſelfe worſe than *man*; a *worme* indeed, no *man*. Thus he is at once fool'd out of euerlaſtingnes, and the fauour of his Maker: the anger of the Lord is now ſore kindled, and his furie ſmoaks in a double curſe againſt him, and what hee was framed of, *earth*; that which hath (hitherto) voluntarily preſented her fruitfulneſſe, in hearbs, and plants, and all things requiſite for his ſuſtenance; now, *vndreſt*, and not watered in the bubble and ſweat of an induſtrious brow, affords him nothing but *thornes*, and *thiſtles*; iuſt reward of diſobedience, *barrenneſſe*, and *death*. Lamentable felicity, which (at height) is but *conditionary*, & then *fatall*. There is no miſery ſo exquiſite, as the ſenſe of a loſt happineſſe. Calamity is ſupportable enough, where there is not felt, or ſeene, a more honourable condition; but, to be tumbled from a bliſſe we were ſometimes maſter of, is a punctuall wretchednеſſe. *Man*, but now on the pinacle and ſpire of all his glory, in a moment ſhamefully throwne from it, and with him, all poſterity. But, loe, there is mercy euen in iuſtice, and life in the very ſentence and iaw of death. —*The ſeed of the woman ſhall breake the Serpents*

head—.She that was (ere-while) a chiefe instrument in his fall, shall be now a maine agent in his restauration, not to that state wherein he was created, but to that wherein he shall be glorified. The soule (through faith and grace) shal still be preserued immortall, but the body must lessen of its primitiue condition, the soule as a Sunne that is eclips'd, or clouded, shall shine againe, the body, like some meteor, for a time exhal'd, falleth to the earth from whence it came; and as some metals (laid for a space in the bosome of the ground) grow more refined, and purified, so shall the body, *interr'd a naturall one, rise a glorious*. In the *Interuallum*, as a punishment for transgression, it shall resolue into what it was made of, and it must *goe to its long home*, the graue; where wee haue now brought it, & would haue laid it in, but that the captious *hereticke* violently withstands it, and thus he interposes. *If man returne into earth, as he is earth, then hee was mortall before he sinned, and so death seemes to be of nature, and not punishment.*—It is not answered by deniall, but distinction, and we must (here) criticke betweene *mortale, mortuum*, and *morti obnoxium*, *mortall, dead*, and *liable to death*. We call that *dead* which is actually depriued of *life*; *subiect to death*, what is within the fathome and command of *deaths power* and tyranny for *sinne*, though not *actually*, yet in *time*. *Mortall*, two waies, either for that which by a *necessity* of nature *ought* to die, or for that which as the *merit* and *reward* of *sinne*, *can* die. The body of *Adam* (before sinne) was of it selfe *mortale* (as mortall is taken in the last sense) because *mutabile*, and that is *mutable*, which of it selfe *can* suffer *change*, although it neuer *doe*, as the *good Angells*, and *God* onely is *immutable*,—*Per se, & natura* (as *Augustine* speakes in his booke *de vera Relig. cap.* 13.) But the body of *Adam* was not *moriturum, to die*, if he had not sinned, but by a *glorious change*, without death, had beene translated by God into an euerlasting incorruptibility. It was *sinne* then

that

that made man obnoxious to the ſtrokes of death, not any *condition*, or *neceſſitie* of *nature*, and therefore I know not whether I may call it an *errour* of the *Pelagian*, or a *blaſphemie*, who would haue *Adam* (had he not tranſgreſſed) die by the *law of nature*. Hence hee might inferre, that death was not a *puniſhment for ſinne*, and ſo by conſequence, *Chriſt not died for it*; but wee finde this (by a Councell) long ſince doomed for an *hereſie*, & an heauie *Anathema* laid on the Patron of that tenent in *Concilio Mileuitano, cap.* 1. and more particularly by *Auguſtine*, in his firſt booke *de Peccatorum meritis & remiſſione, cap.* 2. You ſee then that *death* and all *corporall defects*, were ſcourges following the diſobedience of the firſt man, not occaſioned by any impulſion or languiſhment of *nature*, and *Aquinas* will reaſon it thus, —*If a man for an offence be depriued of ſome benefit that is giuen him, the wanting of this benefit, is the puniſhment of that offence. To Adam in his ſtate of innocencie there was this boone conferr'd from Heauen, that as long as his minde was ſubiect vnto God, the inferiour powers of the ſoule ſhould be obedient vnto reaſon, and the body vnto the ſoule. But becauſe the minde of man (by ſinne) did recoile and ſtart backe from this diuine ſubiection, it followed, that thoſe inferiour powers alſo would not be totally ſubiect vnto reaſon; whence grew ſo great a rebellion of the carnall appetite; that the bodie (too) would not bee totally ſubiect to the ſoule. Vpon this breach death enters, and all that pale band of diſeaſes, and corporall infirmities, for the incolumitie and life of the body conſiſts in this, that it bee ſubiect vnto the ſoule, —Sicut perfectibile ſua perfectioni,*— as the Schooleman ſpeakes, *as a thing perfectable to its perfection. On the other ſide, death, and ſickneſſe, and languiſhments of body, haue reference to the defects of the true ſubiection of the body to the ſoule. And therefore neceſſitie of conſequence will induce, that as the rebellion of the carnall appetite to the ſpirit, was a puniſhment of our firſt fathers ſinne; ſo mortalitie, and all corporall*

imperfections

imperfections too, as the Schooleman punctually in his 2ª. 2æ. 164. *quæst.* 1. *Artic.* The curse then due to the lapse of our first Parents, houers not ouer the *soule* onely, but, for it, the *body*; the *bodie* (before) in a blessed way of incorruptibilitie, but not *of it selfe*, but *from the soule*, so *Augustine* tels his *Dioscorus*, —*Tam potenti naturâ Deus fecit animam, vt ex eius beatitudine, redundet in corpus plenitudo sanitatis, & incorruptionis vigor*—in his 56 Epistle. His body then was not indissoluble by any vigor of immortalitie existing in it selfe, but there was (supernaturally) a power in the soule, diuinely giuen, by which man might preserue his body from all corruption, as long as it remained subiect vnto God. And the Schooleman hath good ground for it; for, seeing *the reasonable soule doth exceed the dimensions and proportion of corporall matter, it was conuenient, that in the beginning, there should be a vertue giuen it, by which the body might be rescued from all infirmities, and conserued aboue the nature of that corporall matter*, as the same *Aquinas part.* 1. *quæst.* 97. *Art.* 1. The whole man then (mixt of body and soule) was in the creation in a glorious state of immortalitie, but it was with a —*Quodammodò*—(as *Augustine* tels vs, *de Genes. ad Lit. lib.* 6. *cap.* 25.) not absolutely, —*Ita vt non posset mori*,—but conditionally --*poterat non mori*--, It is true, hee had a power not to die, if hee had not sinned; but it was a necessitie he should die, when he had; otherwise God had beene as vniust to his promise, as hee was seuere in his command, for so the charge runnes, --*At that day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death*--. Hee hath eaten, therefore he must die--. But from whence commeth this death? from *God*, or from *himselfe*? or *both*? originally from *neither*; not from *God*, he cannot be the cause of it, death being a *priuation* onely, hauing *name* (saith *Augustine*) but no *essence*; besides, it is an *Omen* and an *ill* to nature. Whatsoeuer God made, had an *essence*, was a *species*, *good*; the

Genes. 2.

Text

Text tells vs ſo, ſix times tells vs ſo, in one Chapter, *Geneſ.* 1. *God made the firmament, and it was good, Hee made the earth, and it was good; in a word, he ſaw all that he had made,—Et erant valde bona,-they were very good—.* Geneſ. 1. *vlt.* We may not thinke then that God therfore created man, that he ſhould die; or, becauſe death followed his diſobedience, God was the cauſe of it. Death may be an inſtrument of his iuſtice, not an effect of his producing. It is one thing to giue the ſentence of death, another to be the author of it. Indeed *Auguſtine* ſayes (*lib.* 1. *Retract. cap.* 21.) that *death* (as *a puniſhment*) *hath reference to God*, not, as *an obliquitie*; and the Schooleman is at hand *Aquinas.* too, with a diſtinction for a two-fold death, one, *as an ill of humane nature, or a defect incident from mans tranſgreſſion, that, he dares not lay on the Almightie*, the other, *as it hath ſome ſpecies or reſemblance of good, to wit, as it is a iuſt penance for his rebellion*, this he doth in his 2ª. 2æ. 164. *quaſt. Art.* 1.

As therefore in the creation of the world God is ſaid to *make light*, & to *ſeparate it from darkneſſe*, not to make Geneſ. 1. darkneſſe, as if that were of it ſelfe ſome blinde maſſe and Chaos, and therefore God chid light out of it; ſo in the creation of man God is ſaid to *make life* (*God breathed into him the breath of life*) not death, nay he doth ſeparate that light from this darkneſſe, and doth chide life not out of it, but from it, with a—*Cave ne manducas*—take heed thou eat not, for if thou doſt, —*morte morieris*— thou ſhalt die the death. That therefore of the wiſe man will vindicate the Almighty from this miſpriſion, — *God* Wiſdome 1. 13, 14. *made not death, neither hath he pleaſure in the corruption of the liuing, for he created all things, that they might haue their being, and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there was no poiſon of deſtruction in them.*

The wombe then of this great plague of man the Apoſtle rips vp, — *When luſt hath conceiued, it bringeth forth ſinne, and ſinne when it is perfected,*

bringeth forth death, Iam. 1. 15. The birth then of ſinne is through a conception of luſt, and the ſtrength of death through a perfection of ſinne. Loe then the cauſe of this great calamitie diſcouered! but how came that? *originally* from the *man*? no. How then? —*Through the enuy of the deuill came death into the world*, the 2. Chapter of the ſame booke, verſ. 24. And therefore Saint *Auguſtine* calls it, —*mors à verſu*—from the biting of the Serpent. And our Sauiour tells vs, —*Ille homicida ab initio, Iohn* 8. —*He was a murderer from the beginning*; whence perceiuing man (by his then obedience) aduanc'd to that place from which he was headlong'd, now diſſolues, and breakes into ſecret enuie; this enuie wrought deceit, deceit concupiſcence, that, diſobedience, diſobedience, ſin, ſinne, death. So that the enuie of the deuill is the ſource and ſpring-head, deceit, the Conduit, concupiſcence, the pipe, the waters conueied in it, diſobedience, ſinne, the Channell or Ciſterne into which they fall, death. Tell *Adam* then of the forbidden fruit, he layes it on his wife, —*The woman gaue it me.* Aske the woman, ſhe puts it on a third, —*The Serpent ſeduced me.* —Aske the Serpent, there it ſtayes, and in ſtead of an anſwer, we finde a curſe, —*Becauſe thou haſt done this, vpon thy belly thou ſhalt creepe, and duſt thou ſhalt eat all the dayes of thy life.* The man then all this while growes not obnoxious in reſpect of *ſeduction*, but *aſſent*, the woman of both; ſo the Apoſtle —*Adam was not deceiu'd*, —*ſed mulier in prauaricatione fuâ*—*the woman being deceiu'd was in the tranſgreſſion*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 14. If God then aske *Adam*, —*num comediſti? Haſt thou eaten of that tree of which I commanded thee thou ſhouldeſt not eat?* He anſwers not with a —*Mulier ſeduxit*, —*the woman hath ſeduced mee*, but onely with a —*dedit*—*ſhe gaue mee, and I did eat.* If he aske *Euah*, —*Quid feciſti? Woman, what is this that thou haſt done?* ſhe as empty of any other euaſion, as of ſtrength, layes all on the ſhoulders of the ſeducer, —with a —*Serpens ſeduxit*

Aug in locum.

Geneſ. 3.

duxit me, — the Serpent seduced mee. God inquires no farther, but sentences, — *I will put enmitie betwixt her seed and thy seed, it shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heele*, as it is nimbly obserued on the 2. booke of the Sentences, *distinct.* 22. *Vt supra.*

Egidius de Roma.

Thus, with some bloud, and trauell, I haue shewed you *man*, in his originall, height, fall; how created, in what glory thron'd, how sunke, what the sinne, the occasioner, the punishment; whence he was, what he is, whither he must; earth, from earth, to it; thither he shall without repriuall: the sentence is past, the executioner ready, and he must goe, for — *Man goeth*, that's my second part, his transitory condition expressed by way of pilgrimage. *Goeth.*

PARS II.

Man goeth —

RAre expression of his frailtie here, if it may not be more properly said — *he is gone*, than that *he goeth. Our dayes* (saith the Kingly Prophet) *are gone euen as a tale that's told, Psal.* 90. *A tale*, of no more length than certaintie. Againe, they are *dayes*, not *yeeres*, as if our being (here) depended vpon moments, more than time, or if time, that which is present, not in future; *Daies* are enough, and *yeeres*, too much, or had we both, loe, they are *gone, gone* euen as *a tale that's told*, a *tale*, as momentary, as vaine. *Seneca* tells his *Polybius* onely of three parts of life answerable to those of time, past, present, to come, *What we doe, God knowes is short; what we shall doe, doubtfull; what wee haue done, out of doubt*; so that our best peece of age is either transitory, or dubious; and where a wise man discouers either, he will at least suspect change, if not slight it. Pitch man at highest, ranke him

with *Kings, Prophets, Prieſts*; and wee ſhall there finde him on his hill of ice, whence he doth not ſlip ſo properly, as tumble: one ſayes hee is *a ſhadow*, another *a ſmoake*, a third *a vapour*, braue reſemblances of his ſtation (here) and durabilitie, when the beſt commendation we can beſtow on either, is--*they paſſe, or elſe they fade*,—As if it were a ſinne to ſay, *they Are, but they Haue beene*. The *Grecian* then ſcarſe ſhot home to the frailtie of man, when he cals him ἐφήμερον --*A creature of a day*,-- he did that nam'd him —*Heſternum*--*yeſterday*—, *We are but as yeſterday, and know nothing*, *Iob* 8. 9. Alaſſe poore man, no better than a watriſh Sunne betweene two ſwolne clouds, or a breathleſſe intermiſſion between two feuers, *miſerie* and *fate*. Loe how they kiſſe? *Man that is borne of a woman hath but a ſhort time to liue, and is full of miſerie*: accurate calamitie; in method, *borne, a ſhort time to liue, full of miſerie*; and to make frailtie compleat, the thing *Woman* is inſerted too.-*Man that is borne of a woman, &c.* *Dauid* was too prodigall in his ſimilitude, when he beat out the age of man to the dimenſions of *a ſpan*; an inch, a *punctum*, had beene bountifull enough, the leaſt Atome types out his glorie here, his glorie of life, 'tis breath on ſteele, no ſooner on than off; Sunne-burnt ſtubble, at once flame and aſhes. Wee are at a good key of happineſſe, when we can ſay -*we are tranſitorie*--we haue ſcarſe (ſometimes) ſo much life as to know we die, euen in the verie threſhold and porch of life, death ſtrangles vs; as if there were but one doore of the ſepulchre and the wombe; ſo that man is but a *liuing ghoſt*, *breathing duſt*, *death cloath'd in fleſh and bloud*.

Hee goeth, vaniſheth rather, vaniſheth like lightning, which is ſo ſudden, and ſo momentarie, that wee more properly ſay wee remember it, than that we ſee it. How is't then, that life is ſometimes ſpunne to the *crimſon*, and ſometimes the *ſiluer threed*, from the *Downe* and *tender wooll* in child-hood, to the *Scarlet* in the manly cheeke, and

and the *tinſell* and *ſnow* in old age? Indeed, the white head, and the wrinkled countenance, may reade you the Annals of threeſcore and ten, perchance calculate our life to a day longer; what is beyond is trouble, and ſo was that, and yet hath not this man liu'd long? *-diu fuit, non diu vixit-Seneca* replies, *How canſt thou ſay he hath ſailed much, whom a cruell tempeſt takes immediatly, as ſoone as he is off the Hauens mouth? and after many a churliſh aſſault, of wind, and billow, much trauerſing his way, wau'd and ſurg'd to many a danger, he is at length driuen backe the ſame rode, but now he went out by? this man hath not ſailed much, but hath beene much beaten.* And indeed we haue here but our-*tempeſtuoſa interualla-*, 'tis not *life* truly, but *calamity. A well gloſs'd miſery, gaudy vnhappineſſe, glorious vanitie, a troubled Sea, tormented with continuall ebbes, and flowes; ſometimes we are ſhipwracked, alwaies toſs't, and thus expos'd to daily bluſtrings, we finde no Hauen but in death.* Hereupon the Grecian called the firſt day of mans life, γένεσιν τῶν ἄθλων, *-a beginning of conflicts-*; So that we ſhall meet with more troupes of ſorrow, (here) than we haue meanes either to reſiſt, or to appeaſe them.

De breuit. vitæ cap 3.

Idem Ibidem.

Conſidereſt thou not (ſayes that graue Philoſopher) *what a kinde of life it is nature preſents vs with, when ſhee would teares ſhould be the firſt preſages of our condition in this world?* How pretily *Auguſtine* emblemes it in his tender infant, —*Nondum loquitur, & tamen Prophetat*, cryes are the firſt Rhetorick he vſes, by which e're he can ſpeake, he propheſies; and by a dumbe kinde of diuination, waile's out the ſtorie of mans ſorrowes heere. And now his odours, ſauours, laſſitudes, watchings, humours, meats, drinks, repoſe, all things, without which he could not liue, are but the occaſion of his death. And therefore that famous Romane, receiuing ſudden tidings of the death of his onely Sonne, anſwered without diſtraction nobly, —*I knew when I begat him he ſhould die*—, life being nothing elſe but a *iourney vnto death*, a *going to the*

Seneca ad Luuil. Epiſt. 70.

long home. It is a little part of it we liue, the whole course of our age, being not *life*, but *time* rather; wch wee cannot recall being spent, or cause it for present, not to spend, but it treads by vs, without noise, and so swiftly, that it is here when we expect it comming, and gone by vs, when we thinke 'tis at vs. *Man goeth*—, Goes as some curious watch does, wound vp (perchance) for an houre, at most, for a day, and then, 'tis downe; which time, if it minute right, it is a rare peece; sometimes, by distemper, it runs too fast, sometimes set backe, by the prouidence of the keeper, sometimes, again, it beats slow, like a dying pulse, by and by, it stands still, as if the whole machine languished; anon some wheele's amisse, or a spring broken, and then we say it is not downe, but disordered, so disordered, that 'tis beyond our Art of rectifying, it must be left to the skill of the maker; who, to ioynt it the better, sunders it, and to make it more firme, for a while destroyes it. The great Enginer and framer of the world, will haue it so done to our fleshly tabernacles, who by the *workmanship* of death, shall take the whole fabricke of the body into peeces, and for a time, lay it by in the graue, till against the great and appointed day, he shall new wheele and ioint it, and set it more gloriously a *going*, by the vertue of the resurrection. So that man not only *goeth*, (as I told you) but *is gone*, twise *gone*, dis-sould, by the frailtie of the body, to the captiuitie of a graue, rebodied with the soule, to the honour of a resurrection. You see then, man is still in a place of fluctuation, not residence, and he is said to *sojourne* in it, not to *inhabit*. *Wee saile by our life my Lucilius*, (saies that Diuine Heathen, let no squemish eare cauill at the title, for it belongs to *Seneca*.) *And as in the Seas the Shores and Cities flie; so in this swift course of time, we first lose the sight of our childhood, and then of our youth, and at length discouer the straits of old age, at which whether we shall arriue, or no, it is doubtfull; and when we haue, dangerous.* That late famous (but vnfortunate)

Seneca Epist. 70. ad Lucilium.

vnfortunate) Historian, who had run thorow all ages of man, and almost all conditions in them, speakes here not like a speculatiue, but a practicke and experienced man; and resembleth his seuen ages, to the seuen planets; whereof, our *Infancie* is compared vnto the *Moone*, wherein wee seeme only to liue, and to grow as plants doe. Our *second age* to *Mercurie*, in which wee are tutor'd and brought vp in our first Alphabet and forme of discipline. Our *third age*, to *Venus*, the dayes of our loue, daliance, vanitie. *The fourth*, to the *Sunne*, the shining, beautifull, glorious age of man. *The fift* to *Mars*, in which thorow fields of bloud, we hew out a way to honour and victory, and wherein our thoughts trauell to ambitious ends. *Our sixth age* to *Iupiter*, wherein we begin to take a strict calculation, and account of our mis-spent times, and bud, and sprout vp to the perfections of our vnderstandings. *The seuenth*, and last, to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sullen, and ouercast, in which we finde by trodden experience, and irrepairable losse, that our golden delights of youth, are now accompanied with vexation, sorrow; our lackies and retinue, are but sicknesses, and variable infirmities, which whispering vnto vs our euerlasting habitation, *and long home*, we at length passe vnto it, with many a thorny meditation, and perplexed thought, and at last by the industrie of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a transitorie life.

History of the World, lib. 1.

Seeing then our bodies are but *earthen cottages, houses of dust*, and *tenements of clay*, the *anuils* which diseases and distempers daily hammer, and beat on; since our life *doth passe away as the trace of a cloud, and is dispersed as a mist driuen by the beames of the Sunne, why doe wee crowne our dayes with rose buds? why doe wee fill our selues with voluptuousnesse, costly wines, and ointments? why say wee not to rottennesse, thou art my father? to the worme, thou art my mother, and my sister?* Why doe wee pamper, and exalt this *iourney-man of corruption?* this *drudge*

Wisd. 2.

Iob 17. 14.

of

of frailtie? this *slaue of death?* why doe we not remember the imprisonment of the soule? and that which *Cyprian* calls, *her gaole-deliuerie?* why call wee not our actions to the barre? arraigne them? checke them? sentence them? why doe wee not something that may entitle vs to Religion, *while it is called to day? Foole, this night shall thy soule be taken from thee*, this houre (perchance) this minute, nay this *punctiſtitium* of it. *Who would not speedily draw water out of a riuer, which he knew would not continue long in its running?* Who would not suddenly extract somewhat from those wholesome fountaines which should cherish and refresh the thirstie and barren soule? why doe wee gaspe, and pant, and breathe for a little aire, wch nature (for a time) fann's vpon vs, and takes off at her pleasure in a moment? why steere we not with desire to our *long home?* why prepare we not for our progresse, since wee must needs thither? why crush wee not this cockatrice in the egge, and so forestall the venome of that eye whose darting is so fatall? *Shall I beleeue* (sayes *Seneca* to his *Lucilius*) *that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, and not suppose rather it can doe nothing to him that knoweth how to die? 'Tis not good to liue, but to liue well; and therefore a wise man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can.* We see the frailtie of others hourely brought vpon the Sceane, and how the daily traffique of disease with vs prompts vs our mortalitie. Those glorious bulwarkes, and fortresses of the soule, are but sanctuaries of weakenesse; languishing, crazie, and batter'd constitutions, but natures warning peeces, the watch-words of a fraile body, which keepe strict Sentinell ot'e the soule, lest it steale from it, vnawares, and so the great enemie both inuade, and ruine it. How frequent euen amongst *Pagans* haue been their—*memento mori's*—? and *a deaths head* (you know) was a chiefe dish at an *Ægyptian feast*. So should that (yonder) to euery recollected Christian, but such pre-

Seneca Epist 7. ad Lucilium.

Mors.

Epist. 71.

preſents (as thoſe) haue beene of late no great dainties with vs, a ſeruice of euerie day, almoſt of euerie place (the whole land being little better than a Charnell-houſe) and we cannot but ſee it, and chew on't too, if we be not duſt already, and that flie in our eyes, and blinde vs, and ſo the complaint of *Cyprian* whip vs home —*Nolumus agnoſcere, quod ignorare non poſſumus.*

Why ſhould then this ſad toll of mortalitie diſhearten vs? groanes, and ſighes, and conuulſions, are the bodies paſſing-bels, no leſſe cuſtomarie than naturall; and more horrid in the circumſtance than the thing. — *Pompa mortis magis terret quàm mors ipſa*—, the retinue and complement of death, ſpeake more terrour than the act. The *Aduerſarie, the Iudge, the Sentence, the Iailor, the Executioner*, more daunt the *malefactor*, than the verie *ſtroke* and *cleft of diſſolution*. *Are wee ſo fooliſh* (ſayes the good Heathen) *to thinke death a rocke which will daſh or ſplit vs in the whole; no, 'tis the Port which we ought one day to deſire, neuer to refuſe; into which (if any haue beene caſt in their younger yeares) they need repine no more than one which with a ſhort cut hath ended his Nauigation. For there are ſome, whom ſlacker winds mocke and detaine, and wearie with the gentle tedioufneſſe of a peaceable calme; others ſwifter wafted by ſudden guſts, whom life hath rather raniſh't thither, than ſent; which had they a time delay'd, by ſome flattering intermiſſions, yet at length, muſt of neceſſitie ſtrucke ſaile to't.* Some faint-hearted *Adrian* will (to his power) linger it, and fearefully expoſtulate with a parting ſoule, as if the diuorce from the body were euerlaſting, and there ſhould not be (one day) a more glorious contract; when an heroike *Cannius* ſhall rebuke the teares in his friends cheeke, and thus brauely encounter death and him, —*Why are you ſad? enquire you whether ſoules be immortall? I ſhall know preſently.* Braue reſolution, had it beene as Chriſtian-like, as 'twas bold.

Againe, ſome effeminate *Rhodian* will rather languiſh

Seneca ad Lucil. Epiſt. 52.

Idem ibidem.

Quæ nunc abibis in loca, pallidula, rigida, nudula?

vnder the grindings of a Tyrant, than sacrifice the remainder of a famin'd bodie to an honourable death, when a confident *Hilarion* shall dare all those grisly assaults, —*Soule get thee out, thou hast seuentie yeares serued Christ, and art thou now loth to die?* Once more, some spruce *Agag*, or kem'd *Amalakite* would be palsie-strucke with an —*amara mors*—, *Death is bitter, death is bitter*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 32. When a *Lubentius*, and a *Maximinus* haue their breast-plate on, with a —*Domine parati sumus*—, *We are ready to lay off our last garments, the flesh*. And indeed (saith *Augustine*) *Boughes fall from trees, and stones out of buildings, and why should it seeme strange that mortals die?* Some haue welcom'd death, some met it in the way, some baffel'd it, in sicknesses, persecution, torments. I instance not in that of *Basil* to the *Arrianated Valens*, ('tis too light) that of *Vincentius* was more remarkable, who with an vnabated constancie, thus stuns the rage of his merciless executioners. —*Thou shalt see the Spirit of God strengthen the tormented more, than the Deuill can the hands of the tormentor.* And that you may know a true Martyrdome, is not dash't either at the expectation, or the sense of torture, a *Barlaam* will hold his hand ouer the verie flame of the Altar, and sport out the horridnesse of such a death with that of the *Psalmist*, —*Thou hast taught my hands to warre, and my fingers to battell.* Seeing then we are compass'd with such a *cloud of witnesses*, what should feare a true Apostle from his--*Cupio dissolui*--? Let vs take his resolution and his counsell too, --*lay aside euerie waight, and the sinne that doth easily beset vs, and let vs runne with patience the race that is set before vs*. *Heb.* 12. 1. There is no Law so inuiolable, as this of *Nature*, that of the *Medes* and *Persians* was but corrupt, to this—*Statutum est omnibus semel mori*—Euerie true Christian knowes it, and feares it not so much out of *opinion*, as *nature*; and why should *nature* doe it, since 'tis call'd *our home, our long home*, whither 'tis as certaine

we

we ſhall goe, as doubtfull, when; and therefore I muſt now preſſe you with *Pauls Obſecro vos tanquàm aduenas—, I beſeech you as ſtrangers, and pilgrimes vpon earth,* looke not backe to the onions, and fleſh-pots here; put forward for your laſt habitations, know you muſt at length to them, there is no by-way to auoid them, for *—Man goeth to his long home—*, that's my third part, the *—terminus ad quem—*, of this his trauell. *—His long home.*

PARS III.

His long home.

LOng home. A periphraſis not of *death* ſo properly, as the *graue*, the *bed-chamber* of the body when 'tis dead; or rather, the bed it ſelfe (for ſo *Iob* ſtiles it) *—Thou haſt made my bed ready for me in the darke,* deaths withdrawing roome, corruptions tyring-houſe, natures Golgotha, her Exchequer of rotten treaſures, hid there till the day of doome, *Regia Serpentum,* (as the Sonne of *Syracke* calls it) *the randeuouz of creeping things, and beaſts, and wormes,* Ecclus. 10. 11.

Come hither then, thou darling of the world, thou great fauourite of fleſh, and bloud; thou whoſe honours (here) are as blooming, as the Lillies, and Roſes in thy youthfull cheeke; know, *Image,* though thy *head* be of *gold,* and thy *body* of *ſiluer,* thy *feet* are but of *clay,* and they will leade downe to this *chamber of death,* where thou maiſt behold the glory of thy anceſtors, as *Auguſtine* did at *Rome,* that of *Cæſars* in his Sepulchre.—*An eyeleſſe, cheekleſſe, worme-gnawne viſage*; nought but *rottenneſſe,* and *ſtench,* and *wormes,* and *bones,* and *duſt,* and now—*Vbi Cæſaris præclarum corpus* (ſaies the Father) *vbi diuitiarum magnitudo? vbi caterua Baronum? vbi acies militum?*

cum? vbi apparatus deliciarum? vbi thalamus pictus? vbi lectus Eburneus? vbi regalis thronus? vbi mutatoria vestimentorum? vbi magnificentia? vbi omnia? Sibi pariter defecerunt, quandò defecit spiritus, & eum in sepulchro, trium brachiorum, reliquerunt cum fatore, & putredine—, in his 48. Sermon, *ad fratres in eremo.* Crowne, and Scepter, and Robes, and Treasure, and Sword, and Speare, and Valour, and Youth, and Honour, and (what the world could not (but now) either master or containe) his bodie, trencht in a graue of six cubites, no more, there *Cæsar* lies in earthen fetters; and so shall all dissolued bodies too, till that fearefull arraignment at the great assises. In the meane time, the soule shall be either wafted hence into *Abrahams* bosome, or else hurried to that caue of darknesse, and euerlasting horrour; no third place to purge and refine it, after death; no Romish trap-doore (through which a brib'd indulgence may presume to fetch it off at the pleasure of a cheating Consistory) but it hath heere *—suum Purgatorium—*, One of their Purgatory-mongers tells mee so, nay tells a Cardinall so, and bids him pray with *Augustine, —Domine hic vre, hic seca, vt in æternum parcas.*

Si sæltem opus illud sit Augustini.

Cupræus de 4. hom. nouissimis, Serm. 3 pag. 56.

Thus you see, Man is now brought to his *—long home—*, his soule gone to its place of rest; but wee may not yet interre the body; that wee shall doe anon; some ceremonie remaines to be perform'd first; for loe, how the *Mourners walke about the streets?* That's my last part; the state, and ceremony man meets with: in the consummation of his pilgrimage *—The mourners walke, &c.*

PARS

PARS IIII.

The mourners, &c.

THe triumph, and honour, death challenges in the ſolemne interment of the deceaſed, hath beene a ceremony no leſſe venerable, than ancient. 'Twas almoſt 3000. yeeres agoe, the *Mourners* (here) *walk't about the ſtreets*; after them thoſe of *Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddo*, when all *Iudah* and *Ieruſalem, mourned* for *Ioſiah*, 2 *Chron.* 35. before both for *Iacob*, in *Goren Atad*, beyond *Iordan --where they mourned* (ſaith *Moſes*) *with a great and ſore Lamentation*, *Gen.* 50. 10. Such a pompe of ſorrow as was a preſident to all poſterity; forty daies the body was embalm'd, then threeſcore and ten more, mourned for, before the Funerall, ſeuen after; againſt the day of interment all the tribes muſt be ſummon'd, their families, their allies, and their retinue; *onely their heards, and their little ones, left in Goſhen.* I reade of no wife, or daughter abſent, no tricke of Religion, or pretence of retired ſorrow, to keep them off theſe publike exequies, to whine a dirge or requiem in a corner. No doubt they ſadly followed the hearſe euen to the Sepulchre, thinking a teare wrung ouer a parting bed not halfe ſo emphaticall, as that which is dropt into the graue. Beſides, *Ioſeph himſelfe muſt be ſent for out of Ægypt*; no imployment at Court keepes him off theſe great ſolemnities, *but hee goes vp to Canaan with all the ſeruants of Pharaoh, and all the Elders of his houſe, and all the Elders of the land of Ægypt, and all his brethren, and his fathers houſe, and his owne too; and they buried him* (ſaies the Text) *in the caue of the field Machpela, which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre*, *Gen.* 50. 13. And indeed, 'twas

Demptis 306. Annis. Salomon enim vixit anno mundi 2930. Ioſiah, anno mundi 3324. Iacob 2108. Chytræus in Chronol.

a religious prouidence the old Patriarches had, in purchasing a possession place for their buriall, and posteritie (a long time) kept it vp, euen to superstition, thinking their bones neuer at rest, till they were laid *in the Sepulchre of their fathers*, which honourable way of interment, in these tympanous and swelling times of ours, (wherein we warre more about matters of title, than religion) were a good meanes to preserue our names from rottennesse; if our contention, and pride, and riot, haue left so much of a deuour'd inheritance as will serue the dimensions of a dead body.

Some noble mansions of the kingdome (heretofore) haue now, scarce, that happinesse. A greene turfe, or a weather-beaten stone, will couer that body, which (ere while) a whole Lordship could hardly cloath; and that life which swum in Tissues, and Imbroideries, in death (scarce) findes a blacke to *mourne* for't about the *streets*. Sad Hearse that hath nothing to wait on't to the graue, but the ruines of a familie, nought to weepe ore't, but the blubbrings and languishments of a gentile bloud, farre more wounding and deplorable, than the condition of some noble caitise, who rather than he will allow death the least triumphs in his funeralls, will haue his treasury, honour, religion too (if he had any) earth'd vp together in his -*Long home*:- a ditch were fitter, and some vnnaturall, gouty-fisted heire would like it well; ours doth not, you see, the—*Mourners haue walkt about the street*—'Tis well, and an act no lesse of *duty*, than *religion*; and those which haue beene zealous in't heretofore, haue worne the two rich Epithetes of *charitable*, *blessed*, —*Blessed are ye of the Lord*, (saith *Dauid* to the men of *Iabesh Gilead*) *that you haue shew'd such charity to your master Saul, and buried him.* Buried him, is not enough, 'tis too naked and thin a ceremonie, except these *Mourners* too *walkt about the streets*. *My Sonne* (saith *Tobit*) *when I die, burie me honestly*, Tob. 14.10. And *Iaakob* (on his death-bed)

2 Sam. 2. 5.

bed) coniur'd his Sonnes to interre him in a preſcript ſolemnitie, and therefore the Text ſaith, —*They buried him as they had ſworn vnto their father*, Gen. 50. 6, 12. And indeed thoſe —*Officia poſtremi muneris*— (as *Auguſtine* cals them) thoſe ſolemne rites which wee ſtrew on the funerals of our deceaſed friend are no effect of courteſie, but debt, and from an able ſucceſſour, no leſſe expected than required. — *My ſonne* (ſaith *Syracides*) *poure thy teares ouer the dead, and neglect not their buriall*, Eccluſ. 38. 66.

And therefore thoſe diſpoſitions are little below barbarous, which ſnarle at a moderate ſorrow, or decent interment of the dead, and had neuer ſo much learning, or at leaſt ſo much charitie, as to interpret that of the Apoſtle, —*Let all things bee done decently, and in order*, 1 Cor. 14. Had not our Sauiour all the Ceremonies of this —*Long home? the cleane linnen cloathes? the ſweet ointments? the new Sepulchre?* theſe *Mourners* (too) *about the ſtreets?* Hee then that in a wayward opinion ſhall diſallow of either, may well deſerue the honour of *Iehoiakims* funerall, which is not to bee named without pitie, and ſome ſcorne, for the Text ſaith —*he was to bee buried like an Aſſe*—. And, for my part, I wiſh him the happineſſe of an *Anchoret*, his *Cell* be his *Church*, and he himſelfe both *Prieſt* and *Grauesman*, not a teare to traile after him to his *long home*, nor a *Mourner-ſcene-about the ſtreets*. Ierem. 22. 19.

It hath beene a cuſtome of ſome barbarous Nations (but in this not ſo deſpicable) to howle their dead to their long home; others dropt them in with a teare onely, no more —*In ignem poſita eſt, fletur* (ſaith the Comicke.) That of the *Romanes* was too gaudie a ſorrow, and comes well home to the exceſſe of pompe in the fate of great ones, now, who though in their life time haue ſlau'd themſelues to the world by an ignoble retrait to obſcuritie, and miſerable thrift, yet at their farewell, and

Going

Going hence, to giue the times a reliſh and taſte of their generouſneſſe, the —*Mourners ſhall walke about the ſtreets.* A monument muſt bee built, a Statue rais'd, Eſcutcheons hung, for the embalming of his honour, whoſe name (ſometimes) deſerues more rottenneſſe than his carkaſſe.

That worth is canonicall and ſtraight, which is inroll'd and regiſtred in the impartiall hearts and memories of the people, not in a perfidious Tombe-ſtone, or periur'd Epitaph. A vertuous life is a mans beſt Pyramide.

Be thy actions vnblemiſh'd, ſquar'd out to Religion, vertue, *Euerie heart's a Tombe, and euerie tongue an Epitaph.* And thus ballac'd thou need'ſt not feare any flotings of the times, any moth or *gangrene* either on thy ſtate, or name; but when death *ſhall take downe thoſe rotten ſticks wherewith thy earthly tent is compos'd*, thy gray haires ſhall goe in peace to their long home, and the —*Mourners ſhall walke about the ſtreets.*

They haue walk't now, and done their deuoyer in their laſt way of ceremony. But where's the *bodie* I promis'd you to interre? ſure *ſome Diſciple ſtole't away by night*, and laid it in its *long home*, where it is now vnder the bondage of corruption. But there is ſomewhat left behinde, which I would willingly preſerue from rottenneſſe, his name: to which, though I may lay ſome challenge in reſpect of bloud, little of acquaintance; that, being as great a ſtranger to mee, as the paſſages of his life, or death; ſo what I ſhall ſpeake, is both *traditionarie*, and *ſhort*, verie *ſhort*, thus.

Hee was a man of more reſeruedneſſe than expreſſion, both in his act and word, and of the two, hee had rather doe courteſies, than profeſſe them. His outward deportment, and face of carriage (where not knowne) ſowre and rough. In his paſſions (for which he

he hath ſuffer'd ſtrangely in the cenſures of the world) ſomewhat windy & tempeſtuous, but ſuch as had authority onely from the tongue, not the heart, and as ſoone ore-blowne, as occaſion'd, nought elſe but a greene leafe in a flame, crack't, ſparkled, and ſo out. His rule of friendſhip the beſt, not popular, but choice, & there too, where it found truth, no gloſſe; there vnſhooke, nobly-conſtant, his both in his heart, & in his purſe; not in his purſe, (as *Seneca* writes of *Sicilius, where nought could be extracted but an hundred vpon an hundred*) or as your *Hackney* Mynt-men for the moſt part doe, *ten vpon the ſame number*, but that trebled, many times, for nothing, as the clemency of ſome vnperſecuting ſcroles can teſtifie. His contribution, and beneuolence in way of almes, rather powr'd out, than giuen, as if pouerty had beene the obiect of his profuſeneſſe, not of his releeſe; yet that without froth of oſtentation, without reference to merit, on the grounds of a true charitie. His Religion (wherein the world thought hee had wau'd and totter'd) vpon his accounts to God, and his inlargements and declarations to his friends, on his death-bed, faſt to the Church of *England*; which, (though in the laſt act) was beleager'd by ſome emaſculate ſuggeſtions, yet bleſſed bee the circumſpection of a carefull Sonne, it ſtood vnbatter'd, and in that loyaltie and ſtrength, hee penitently gaue vp his ſoule into the hands of his Redeemer.

And now hee is gone, let his imperfections follow, and the memorie of them rot, and moulder with his bodie; hee had many, ſome preualent; and (good Lord) which of vs haue not in a large proportion! But they are our *earthie*, and *duſtie*, and *aſhie* part, ſo they were his; les them bee buried with him; ſhouell them into his graue; *Earth to earth, aſhes to aſhes, duſt to duſt*; let them ſpring no more,

to the ſoyling and diſhonour of his name, or our owne vncharitablenesse, but let his aſhes reſt in peace; for hee is now —*Gone to his long home, and the mourners haue walkt for him about the ſtreets.*

Gloria in excelſis Deo.
Amen.

FINIS.